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COMMENT ON THE WEEK

French Referendum. The issue in the French referendum on May 5 was ostensibly the new Constitution drafted by the Constituent Assembly; in reality it was communism. While objection could be taken to certain features of the Constitution, notably the almost complete lack of any check on the Assembly, this alone would not have prevented the French people from endorsing it. For almost a year now they have been existing in a governmental vacuum, and only the most serious of reasons could have led them to prolong the state of uncertainty which has made the work of reconstruction all but impossible. Such a reason they found in the dangerous possibility that the Communist Party could use the new Constitution, with its omnipotent Assembly, to impose Soviet totalitarianism on them, and this was too much for the liberty-loving French. They voted, by more than a million majority, to reject the Constitution. Chief credit for keeping France in the democratic tradition must go to Foreign Minister Georges Bidault's Popular Republican Movement, which broke with the Socialists and Communists over the Constitution and openly worked for its rejection. They were helped considerably by Herriot's revived Radical Socialist Party, as well as by many a disgusted Socialist. While the referendum indicated a shift in French political thinking in the past few months, the extent of these changes must remain obscure until June 2, when a new Constituent Assembly will be elected. Meanwhile it became obvious to all the world why Russia had to maintain huge armies of occupation in Central and Eastern Europe. In every free election since the end of the war, Europeans have rejected communism; and Stalin knows that it will take the bayonets of the Red Army to impose slavery on them. Shades of Yalta and free, democratic elections!

This Hungry World. Even while the contemporary food crisis stirs our sympathy and arouses a lethargic world conscience, many a contributing factor to the shortage is forgotten or ignored. Few Americans realize that the world eats poorly at best and that half its peoples normally subsist on insufficient diets. What was long-standing insufficiency, war, continued crop shortages and political interference with transportation and labor resources—especially behind the "iron curtain"—turned into a major disaster. While rushing of food to starving nations alleviates the suffering, it does not remove some basic causes. These are deep rooted, and on the economic and political planes arise from the fact that so many peoples do not have ready access to dependable sources of food supply. In their own countries land is short and often poor in quality, whereas population may be heavy. Immigration barriers prevent the transit of the underprivileged to more fortunate areas, even while tariff barriers and inequalities of money value make needed trade difficult or impossible. Thus habitually fare India, Italy, Japan, and to a lesser extent England and some continental European countries. They cannot feed themselves on what they have, but must look elsewhere. Most striking addition to the list of food-problem countries is the new Germany rising before our eyes. Extra millions are crowded on fewer acres and no one answers the question of how they will find food. Well-fed themselves, some Americans don't particularly care. So long as our own food supply holds out and we have the wherewithal to buy, it matters little to them how Italy's

45 million eat, nor the millions upon millions in the other countries named. Yet free access to natural resources—of which food-producing land is surely among the first—must accompany peace, or the peace cannot abide.

Mr. Myron Taylor. There will probably be tempests in a number of Protestant teapots over Mr. Truman's reappointment of Mr. Myron Taylor as his personal representative to the Pope, with the rank of Ambassador. Senator George and the Southern Baptists will be particularly upset. And we shall hear, reiterated in various forms, what the *Christian Century* recently said about the "illicit intrigue between our State Department and the Vatican." This, it seems, is "an insult to Protestants, an embarrassment to sensitive and fair-minded Catholics, and an affront to all citizens who have any regard for the fundamental American principle of avoiding the entanglement of our government with ecclesiastical politics and refusing to play favorites among the churches." In contrast with all this heat, the President's letter announcing Mr. Taylor's appointment is rather light-some. It makes three things quite clear. First, the President is reaching out to all religious leaders who "have a vital contribution to make" towards solving today's problems, which are in their roots spiritual. Secondly, he has found by experience that the Pope's contribution is highly valuable, and Mr. Taylor's past mission was "most helpful" in securing it. Thirdly, he feels that Mr. Taylor at his post in Rome "can continue to render helpful service to the cause of Christian civilization." No principle of American government—least of all the so-called principle of separation of Church and State—is at stake here. The sole issue is the freedom of the President to seek counsel where counsel may be had, without being plagued by outbursts of religious prejudice, disguised as concern for democratic principles.

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Browder's Pilgrimage. When Earl Browder, deposed head of the American Communist Party, boarded a plane for Stockholm, ultimate destination Moscow, he started some very intriguing speculations. A reporter in the *New York Times* hazarded the following guess:

The projected visit to Russia by Mr. Browder gave rise to speculation that the "invitation" must have been issued by the Soviet government, that he was welcome there, and that he would bring back with him a new "party line" to be pursued by the Communist Party of the United States.

This paragraph stimulated the editors of Red Fascism's official organ in the United States, the *Daily Worker*, to one of their rare attempts at humor. Said the *Worker*:

It is quite clear from this choice tidbit that the commercial press understands very clearly the conspiratorial motives of the Browder trip and knows quite well how to collaborate with Browder in his activities.

For the essence of the Browder trip is that it is one in a line of provocations intended to reinforce the typically reactionary falsehood that the American Communist Party has organizational connections abroad. It is intended to imply that the decisions of the American Communist Party are not based on an estimate of the social, political and class conditions in the United States, on the needs of the American working class and its progressive allies, but rather on some "line" handed down from abroad.

The commissars on Thirteenth Street were plainly worried and obviously had not been consulted on Browder's pilgrimage. Walter Winchell added to the excitement by suggesting that Browder was the emissary of certain business interests which were trying to swing a mutually advantageous deal with the Soviets. It could be. One thing only is certain: travelers to Moscow are few and far between and no one goes there unless invited or commanded by the Kremlin.

Land Boom in the Making. For five years now land prices have risen at the average rate of 1 per cent a month. Despite the war's termination, the trend shows no signs of reversing itself. Prospects of lower farm prices, release of land by retiring farmers and the recollection of collapses in land values after World War I, do not have sufficient effect to offset the inflationary pressure now making itself felt on the farm front. If land prices continue to rise at the present rate, within eighteen months the United States index will be at the 1920 boom level, and approximately double the 1935-39 average. The only bright spot in the picture—perhaps the one which will save the day—is the fact that credit does not play so prominent a part as after the first World War. Farmers have money and tend to pay in cash or else they use present prosperity to clear up old debts. Nevertheless, corrosive factors are at work. On many farms the debt is now larger than the full market value a few years ago. Land transfers in 1945 exceeded by about 5 per cent those of the previous year. Too many transfers take place after only lim-

ited holding. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics reports that the frequency of land exchanges still remains high. Such a situation points to the presence of considerable speculation and the retention of land temporarily for profit without any serious intention of cultivation or improvement. Whatever moral defense may be made for such procedure in the abstract, in the present circumstances it threatens serious harm to the agricultural community, even to those members who profit by the practice. The land boom is not, of course, all a matter of speculation. Prosperity, the presence of credit facilities, demands for land by returning veterans, as well as the general inflationary situation, must all be considered. The boom does indicate, however, the crying need for better legal and social control over land resources.

Land in Sweden. A new land law, recently passed by the Riksdag, enables the government to buy farm land seriously mismanaged by its owners. In return, the proprietor receives the full market value from the public treasury. Land thus acquired may be resold to responsible buyers who will use it properly. Such a measure obviously invites discussion of the relationship of land resources to the social community. Evidently a resource so basic may not be squandered at will by the owner. Future generations, in addition to the contemporaries, must draw from a nation's land resources their food and fiber, lumber and minerals, for years to come. Holding of land partakes of the nature of stewardship, in the right administration of which the community has vital interests and over which it should exercise supervision. This, manifestly, forms the basis for land-tenure legislation. In the Swedish law, provision for resale to private individuals seems to indicate that the objective is not direct state ownership of all land facilities but merely the safeguarding of necessary natural resources. Swedish papers explain the present law as occasioned by notorious mismanagement of land, farm-buildings and cattle on a large estate near Stockholm. Americans will better understand the Swedish reaction if they recall that Sweden is permanently a food-importing country, whose diet has been reduced to but 2,300 calories a day as a result of the world shortage. Hungry people do not want to see land exhausted and exploited for selfish purposes. That has already happened to far too much of the earth's productive surface. If an increasingly numerous and needy world population is to continue having its wants satisfied, society must pay more attention to conservation of natural resources. That, precisely, is the meaning of the Swedish land law.

Free Elections in Slovenia. Considerable doubt seems to be placed, according to recent reports, upon the real freedom of the so-called free elections in Slovenia. At the village of Stična the ballot box at the polls registering opposition to Tito was full, and Tito's almost empty. The electoral commission declared 756 opposition votes in favor of Tito's list and 179 votes in favor of the opposition. Similar procedures were reported from other localities. An eighty-per-cent opposition to Tito in the village of Velenje was officially reversed in the evening. In the locality of Jarenina in the Maribor district, the electoral commission was honest enough to declare an opposition victory. The next day all the commission members were put into prison. In Upper Carniola all soldiers voted against Tito. The following day they were deprived of their clothing and footwear. In exchange they obtained worn-out and torn clothing and no food the entire day. At Cerklje the soldiers had to drill barefooted and hungry. In front of them stood a poster with the inscription: "Liberty." These and similar matters are an instructive background to the coming peace debates.

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Colleges and Veterans. Three conspicuous elements in providing higher education facilities for veterans are classroom space, housing and teachers. The colleges add that administrative problems and maintenance of standards are likewise important elements. At the Chicago meeting of the American Council on Education, May 4, General Bradley told the 500 college and university officials present that 1,687,000 veterans had already applied for education under the "GI Bill of Rights," and that by next autumn 750,000 will be enrolled in colleges and universities and *another million waiting to enter*. Unless the colleges, he said, make room for these veterans, pressure may be put on Government to establish federally controlled institutions of higher learning. The General is of course aware that many colleges have already doubled classroom space by running two sessions each

day. Steps are now being taken by Government agencies to provide additional housing units for veterans and their families. But not enough attention, it seems, has been paid by the Veterans Administration to the problem of helping colleges to set up temporary classroom facilities and to the even more acute problem of finding from 7,000 to 10,000 additional teachers by September. The serious shortage of teachers is placing an unsupportable burden on present personnel, which in many instances taught the accelerated courses of the war years without a breathing spell. This fact, together with overcrowded classes, cannot but jeopardize academic standards. All in all, the best hope of solving these complex problems lies in continuing the present harmonious cooperation between the colleges and General Bradley's Veterans Administration.

WASHINGTON FRONT

THERE ARE SOME PEOPLE who believe that Congress, in its own interest—and perhaps in that of the country as well—should never meet the year of an election; and since this would mean that it would be in session only every other year, perhaps we should elect members of the House every four years, to coincide with the President's term, instead of every two.

The fact is that a curious sort of paralysis overcomes the House and a third of the Senate when the members think of having to run for re-election. It is curious, because whatever clear idea the individual Congressman may have of what he is trying to do and to avoid, the net collective result is inevitably something highly distasteful to him, and sometimes very dangerous.

It is fairly certain that not more than a very few Representatives had any intention of doing what the House as a whole did to OPA. It is also obvious that after two weeks at home with their constituents very many of them came back to Washington thoroughly scared, and it is whispered that these are privately begging the Senators to rescue them from their predicament.

Whether the same results will attend the fate of the draft-extension act is not clear at this writing, for it is pretty certain that people back home do not like the draft. Also, it is not clear that what was done, or will be done, out of fear, will be best for the interests of the country in an uncertain time.

Looking back, it is strange to reflect that it was never expected last Fall that what the Congress would be wrestling with in May would be such things as revengeful labor legislation, draft extension, price control, Army-Navy merger, the British loan, instead of the wide and constructive set of twenty points the President set before it as necessary to meet a new age. It is commonly said that what is principally motivating Congress, apart from being re-elected, is to restore the dominance of the legislative branch over the executive, lost under Roosevelt, and that, having found a relatively weak Chief Executive, it forthwith proceeds to make the most of it.

If this is true, then the legislative branch is never going to get much done, since it will be, as it is now, chiefly occupied in throwing out anything that the President suggests. And yet, as our system has evolved, it is largely from the President that initiative in legislation must come, since he is also the head of the majority party as well as the executive. Ours is not a system of separated powers, but of balanced powers, which overlap at manifold points.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

A WELCOME to three new Catholic publications. The first, dated Mid-April, is a venture of the Chicago Inter-Student Catholic Action organization (CISCA), celebrating its twentieth anniversary this year and comprising students of eighty-three high schools, colleges and universities. It is a sixteen-page tabloid newspaper called *Today*. Capably edited under direction of two Chicago newspapermen, *Today* is scheduled to appear twice monthly. It is modern, sprightly, illustrated and unabashedly Catholic throughout.

► The two other publications are digests—*Our Lady's Digest*, a monthly (with one issue for July-August) edited by the Missionary Fathers of LaSalette, Olivet, Ill., and containing Marian articles culled from Catholic magazines, periodicals and books; and the *Cross*, a sixty-four-page monthly published by Catholic laymen in Manila. Vol. I, No. 1, which just arrived from the Philippines, carries the date-line of January, 1946. The first issue had a run of 10,000 copies.

► At the concluding session of the Associated Church Press convention, held in Washington recently, Louis Minsky, the managing editor of *Religious News Service*, gave the Protestant editors a piece of wise advice when he cautioned them against attempts to promote Protestantism by attacking Catholicism. A fair instance of what Mr. Minsky had in mind is seen in a resolution adopted on May 6 by the National Association of Evangelicals, which urgently requested President Truman "to recall immediately his personal envoy to the Vatican and terminate forthwith this intolerable un-American relationship." The convention was whipped up to acceptance of the resolution by a thumping indictment of Catholic "political pressure" exerted in the U.S., Puerto Rico, the Latin-American republics and just about everywhere else. Meanwhile more and more Protestants are seeking something real to believe in and are finding it in the Catholic Church.

► Monsignor John R. Hagan, diocesan superintendent of schools in Cleveland since 1923, has been designated Titular Bishop of Limata and Auxiliary to Bishop Edward F. Hoban of Cleveland. He will be consecrated on May 28.

► Catholic Press Association convention in Boston, May 23-25; the third biennial convention of the National Council of Catholic Nurses in Toledo, May 24-26.

► The U.S. Supreme Court has announced that it will act on the contested constitutionality of the New Jersey law requiring that children of parochial and other private schools be given free bus transportation where similar services are given public-school children. The decision may well set a whole pattern of precedents.

A.P.F.

Crisis in Industrial Relations

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

A LITTLE MORE than two weeks ago John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers, essayed a prediction. "Our economy," he announced, "is being gradually stagnated. As the days progress, tonnage will go off the railroads, factories will close and distress will come to the American people."

All these dire things, and worse, have now come to pass. The steel industry is largely down; rail transportation is crippled; our greatest cities have cut essential services. The distress which Mr. Lewis calmly predicted for the American people has become, in the solemn words of President Truman, "a national disaster." Worse still, it has leaped the Atlantic and laid a new cross on the broken peoples of suffering Europe. Since the mines were closed on April 1, shipments of desperately needed coal have dwindled to a trickle.

It may be of some importance for the solution of the present crisis to determine who is mostly to blame for it, the rugged individualist who dominates the United Mine Workers or the rugged individualists who operate the nation's coal mines. But if we are mainly concerned with the future of the country, a more fundamental question must be asked. It is not a new question; but the wave of strikes last winter and now the coal strike and threatened rail and ship strikes have given it a new emphasis. It is this: can labor and management be trusted to govern themselves? Or, to put the question in a different way: is the philosophy which underlies our basic law for industrial relations, the National Labor Relations Act, false and impractical?

It has not perhaps been sufficiently noted that the philosophy of the Wagner Act directly contradicts one of the fundamental dogmas of Marxism, namely, the inevitability of class warfare in a capitalistic system. Karl Marx held, because of his belief in the false theory of surplus value, that, where the means of production are privately owned, the system can be made to work only by exploiting the proletariat, that is, the non-owners. For this reason he taught the necessity of class warfare, with the expropriation of the capitalists and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the ultimate objective and solution.

The National Labor Relations Act rejects this pessimistic philosophy. It supposes that strikes and other forms of industrial unrest are not the necessary fruit of the employer-employee relationship but arise from "the denial by employers of the right of employees to organize and the refusal by employers to accept the procedure of collective bargaining." The main purpose of the Act, then, is to promote industrial peace by removing one of the chief sources of labor-management strife, as the following paragraph from Section 1 makes clear:

Experience has proved that protection by law of the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively safeguards commerce from injury, impairment, or interruption, and promotes the flow of commerce by removing certain recognized sources of industrial strife and unrest, by encouraging practices fundamental to the friendly adjustment of industrial disputes arising out of differences as to wages, hours, or other working conditions, and by restoring equality of bargaining power between employers and employees.

Such is the great faith which underlies the National Labor

Relations Act, a faith in the fundamental decency of workers and employers, in their respect for justice, in their ability to settle conflicts of interests by recourse to fact and reason rather than by resort to force.

Must we now concede that this approach to industrial relations, so thoroughly in harmony with both Christian and democratic ideals, has turned out to be much too optimistic? And must we admit, too, the corollary, that Marxist pessimism is closer, after all, to the realities of the marketplace?

Marx's theory of class warfare is now generally admitted today, outside blindly partisan circles, to be bad history, bad sociology and bad economics. It is bad history because it postulates a purely imaginary account of the rise of private property; bad sociology because it oversimplifies the idea of class and ignores embarrassing facts; bad economics because it supposes a theory of value which cannot be applied consistently even to commodities, much less to human beings.

But while wrong in his premises, it may still be possible that Marx is closer to the truth in his conclusion—that workers and owners are in irreconcilable conflict—than are the advocates of industrial harmony through collective bargaining. (Professor Schumpeter of Harvard once wrote that Marx was right in predicting that capitalism would inevitably be succeeded by socialism, but wrong in all his reasons.) Can the hope which engendered the Wagner Act, that labor and management would work together peacefully if only equality of bargaining power were assured, be said honestly to have been realized? Or has experience confirmed Marx?

It seems to me that our hope in the Act has not been realized. I say this with sincere regret, and with advertence to all the extenuating circumstances. When every allowance has been made—the relatively short time the Wagner Act has been on the books, the still shorter time in which it has been fully operative, the difficult circumstances in which collective bargaining has had to function since V-J Day, the large number of peaceful and unpublicized settlements of disputes—the fact remains that in several key sectors of industry, at one of the most critical times in history, labor and management have chosen to slug it out with dangerous, and perhaps fatal, consequences to our whole economy and even to the world.

This is the capital point about postwar industrial relations, and it cannot be evaded or explained away. It does no good to quote statistics, to show that in so many hundreds of instances, involving so many millions of workers, labor and management have contrived to arrive at peaceful agreements. The stoppages in the production of autos and electrical goods, of steel and of coal, have done irreparable harm to the nation's reconversion program. They constitute a deadly breakdown in industrial relations, the kind of breakdown which no government in the world can afford to ignore. Indeed, they provide sufficient excuse, if excuse is wanted, for government seizure and operation. (If the threatened strikes in rail and sea transportation become realities, the same can be said of them). They thus furnish considerable support to the bilious thesis of Karl Marx.

It is one thing, however, to say that the Wagner Act has failed to achieve its principal goal—industrial peace—and quite another to say that it *cannot* achieve that goal. The former proposition I am prepared reluctantly to admit; the

latter I simply do not believe. For I do not believe in the gospel according to Marx. I do not believe that the attempt to secure peace in industry through collective bargaining has so far failed because workers and employers are and must remain inveterate enemies. I believe rather that the present breakdown in industrial relations is the failure of *individuals* and not of a *system*, and can, therefore, be repaired.

But I also believe that the time for individual reform is strictly limited, and that a continuation of present failures in labor and business leadership will have disastrous consequences. There is no question here of apportioning blame for the present crisis, for the situation is much too serious to quarrel about that. There is question only of sounding a warning to responsible leaders of labor and management that the time is short and the sands are running out. The American economy is punch-drunk and reeling; it cannot absorb many more blows like the coal strike without going down for the count.

IF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING FAILS

Lately I happened on an excerpt from a speech by Senator Robert Wagner which indicates what is ahead of the country if collective bargaining fails. Although the address was delivered almost ten years ago, just a few days after the Supreme Court had upheld the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act, the following paragraphs are, if anything, more pertinent today than they were then. I quote them here for the prayerful consideration—and I mean prayerful—of the relatively small number of men in both labor and management who hold the fate of the country in their hands.

Modern nations have selected one of two methods to bring order into industry. The first is to create a super-government. Under such a plan, labor unions are abolished or become the creatures of the state. Trade associations become the cartels of the state. Every important business decision must get its stamp of approval from public headquarters. That is what is called the authoritarian state.

The second method of coordinating industry is the democratic method. It is entirely different from the first. Instead of control from on top, it insists upon control from within. It places the primary responsibility where it belongs and asks industry and labor to solve their mutual problems through self-government. That is industrial democracy, and upon its success depends the preservation of the American way of life.

If Senator Wagner has correctly stated the alternatives, our condition today is much more dangerous than is commonly believed, is as dangerous as I believe it to be. Either labor and management, by their free cooperation, will maintain necessary order in the marketplace, or it will be maintained by the state; for men can live in society without the economic liberties to which we have become accustomed, but not without order. But labor and management are failing to meet their responsibilities. For the past six months there has been terrible disorder in industry, and this disorder has posed and continues to pose a grave threat to the welfare of the country and of the world. Under somewhat similar circumstances, in the not very distant past, labor and management in other countries have been forced to surrender their liberties to an authoritarian state. I know of no special dispensation of divine Providence which assures us that it cannot happen here.

It is true that some employers do not agree with this analysis of the situation. They argue that Senator Wagner's disjunction is incomplete, and they add a third possibility—a return to the pre-Roosevelt days when a kind of despotism

prevailed in American industry and management was free to fight the attempts of workers to organize. At the recent convention of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Atlantic City, delegates representing this school of thought actually sponsored a resolution calling for repeal of the National Labor Relations Act.

While it might be of some academic interest to discuss this viewpoint, no practical good would be achieved. Labor unions are here to stay, and so is the legal guarantee of the right of workers to organize. Our salvation must be worked out within the framework of organized industry and organized labor, as envisaged in the Wagner Act, and to think in any other terms is to stand barrenly on the sidelines while men struggle to subject a mechanical, mass-production economy to the ideals of democracy. Senator Wagner's dilemma cannot be escaped.

EXAMPLE OF THE ILGWU

Many of my readers will probably have seen the fine article on Julius Hochman and the International Ladies' Garment Workers by Eugene Lyons in the April *Reader's Digest*. (The article appeared originally in the *New Leader* for March 16.) In the course of telling the story of the ILGWU, the writer quotes Mr. Hochman to the effect that the goal of trade unionism, is "an effective working partnership between organized labor and organized management." This goal is not achieved immediately, but is the fruit, according to the ILGWU's great labor statesman, of an evolutionary process which has three distinct stages. First comes a period of *war*, when the union is fighting for recognition and the acceptance of collective bargaining. Then follows a period of *truce*, during which collective bargaining takes place, but in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust, with strikes and lockouts a normal accompaniment. Finally there arrives a period of *cooperation*, which Mr. Hochman characterizes as follows:

Peaceful adjustment of differences by two equals each of whom has a genuine stake in the security and prosperity of the industry. At this stage the union, feeling itself secure, learns to trust and work with the employers. It develops a vested interest in the well-being of its industry.

If we attempt to analyze the breakdown of industrial relations in these terms, we shall probably conclude that the explanation lies in the failure of certain powerful unions to pass from the second stage, the period of *truce*, to the ultimate goal, the period of *cooperation*. If, therefore, we can discover the reasons for this retarded development, we shall be well on the way to solving the problem—and confounding Karl Marx.

WHAT IS NEEDED

No doubt, among these reasons must be listed inferior labor leadership, the lack of an educational program in many unions and, perhaps more important still, the persistence in labor oratory and literature of a class-conscious, anti-employer vocabulary. If rank-and-file workers are habitually told, for demagogic reasons, that all employers are heartless crooks, they cannot be readily sold on a policy of labor-management cooperation when such a policy has become imperative.

However, many unions never get beyond the second stage, the period of *truce*, because employers make it inadvisable for them to do so. Although it is not generally acknowledged, there is just as much class consciousness on the side of management as there is in the ranks of labor, and many a union remains militant because, forced to deal with a hostile

employer, it can survive in no other way. In the final analysis I believe that the attitude of management toward unionism is the key to sound industrial relations, and that if employers wholeheartedly accept the philosophy of the Wagner Act, our unions will rise to their responsibilities and fulfil their rich promise. Admittedly this involves a gamble, as it certainly involves a radical departure from traditional management attitudes. But the risk of standing pat is greater still. Unless there is a sharp change for the better in industrial relations, and soon, industry and labor will wake up some morning to find themselves taking orders from a *Gauleiter* in Washington.

THE LESSON OF PALESTINE

WILLIAM J. GIBBONS

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY distinguished itself by the thoroughness with which it handled the delicate Palestine question. Honesty and objectivity characterize the lengthy report submitted by the Committee on April 20 to the British and American Governments. The very disappointment and criticism with which some on both sides received it testifies to a sincere attempt to grant as much as possible to the parties concerned, without, however, fully yielding to demands which are in fact mutually incompatible.

A fairer compromise—in view of the complications thirty years have added to the original 1917 arrangement—could scarcely have been forthcoming. If the rival claimants do not accept it but remain intransigent, the blame cannot be laid at the Committee's doorstep. In that case we will know that self-government for Palestine is out of the question and that further steps to attain it by either side constitute a threat to peace. Even in such an event the Committee's report remains as a valuable object lesson in the settling of territorial and human problems by non-military means. Today there are other cases of political dispute which would undoubtedly benefit by a similar publicizing of the facts. That we do not or cannot make them known is our loss in the uphill fight for a just world order.

SALIENT POINTS

Few will take time to read the Committee of Inquiry's report in all its detail. For just such persons the conclusions and recommendations are available in summary form in the very first chapter. In brief this chapter declares:

1. The information received from countries other than Palestine definitely indicates that there is no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing to or impelled to leave Europe. Since Palestine alone cannot absorb all the refugees, world responsibility for solving this problem in human rights must be squarely met by every government capable of rendering assistance.

2. Immigration certificates should be awarded, during the present year if possible, to 100,000 Jews who were victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution. To implement this program, special facilities for immigration are necessary.

3. The establishment of an exclusively Jewish or Arab State is now out of the question. Neither group can justly be allowed to dominate the other. In what ultimately should be a *Palestinian* State, the respective rights of Moslems, Jews and Christians need special protection.

4. Due to evident determination of both Arabs and Jews

to dominate, by force if necessary, Palestine must remain under mandate until such time as a trusteeship agreement is worked out by the United Nations.

5. Until the United Nations declares otherwise, the mandatory Power should observe the terms of the original mandate. This provides for facilitation of Jewish immigration to Palestine so long as it is without prejudice to the rights of other citizens.

7. The interests of all will best be served by abolishing the restrictions on land transfer laid down in the 1940 Regulations. The common good also requires that provisions in conveyances, leases and agreements whereby employment possibilities are restricted along racial lines, be rendered nugatory and hereafter prohibited. The maintenance of proper respect for holy places and such localities as the Sea of Galilee will require more than ordinary supervision on the part of the government.

8. Without passing final judgment on any plans now drawn up, projects for large-scale industrial and agricultural improvement of Palestine deserve endorsement. The successful attainment of the economic objectives envisaged in such projects presupposes that cooperation of neighboring Arab states will be sought.

9. Better understanding between Arabs and Jews can come about only if there is more equality of opportunity. For this, the educational system of both groups needs reformation and should be made compulsory. At present the schools are too nationalist in character.

10. In the event of the report's adoption, both sides should be frankly told that terrorism and use of illegal armies will be resolutely repressed.

NATIONALISM AND RACISM

However piously defended, say in the name of national unity, economic security or the maintenance of *Christian* leadership, anti-Semitism has been rife in Western culture for over half a century. Small consolation derives from the thought that the same attitudes which encouraged it also made themselves felt in exaggerated nationalism, racism and not infrequently in stolid resistance to needed social reforms. Nor can Christian anti-Semites comfort themselves or excuse their sin by recalling that some of the more ardent political Zionists through the years have developed a false nationalism of their own.

Had anti-Semitism not flourished in Europe, Palestine probably would never have become a problem. Jews everywhere could have remained as useful citizens of the countries of their birth or of their adoption. Dr. Theodor Herzl's plan for a Jewish State found favor precisely because so many of his religious brethren found themselves in distressing circumstances of persecution and discrimination. To the desire for a refuge, the historical and religious associations of Palestine added additional motivation. Christians puzzled by the strength of the Zionist claims will profitably ponder on these cumulated motives. Add to them the terrifying experiences under Nazi domination, in combination with the highly developed Jewish sense of solidarity with fellow Jews, and the strong reaction to the Palestine issue is psychologically understandable.

ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Recommendation No. 1 of the Report on Palestine brings up the issue of fundamental human rights. Today thousands of displaced Jews in Europe are unwelcome in the countries of their origin. Thousands more understandably refuse to return to localities alive with memories of murdered relatives and friends. If human rights mean anything, they mean that

these people must be granted a decent place in which to settle and rebuild their shattered lives. To judge otherwise, or to resort to forcible repatriation, is to deny reasonable liberty of migration and opportunity for refuge in a manner very similar to that of which we accuse the Soviets. Because this basic issue of human rights is involved, "the whole world shares responsibility for them [the Jews] and indeed for the resettlement of all displaced persons." In these words the Committee gets at the heart of the problem.

The Committee, however, rightly calls attention to the fact that claims of some Zionists are exaggerated. Says the report:

Our investigations have led us to believe that a considerable number of Jews will continue to live in most European countries. In our view the mass emigration of all European Jews would be a service neither to the Jews themselves nor to Europe. Every effort should be made to enable the Jews to rebuild their shattered communities, while permitting those Jews who wish to do so to emigrate.

Unfortunately anti-Semitism tends to flare up in some countries as soon as governments attempt to guarantee Jewish rights. While courageous legislation will help, a permanent solution awaits the eradication of vicious anti-Semitic ideas—a thing which only the formation of strong public opinion and greater economic security can accomplish.

Appendix III of the Report reveals the extent to which European Jews have suffered within recent years. In tabular form it tells a factual story of the fruits of hate, persecution and organized murder. In 1939 the total number of Jews in what later we called the "occupied countries" was 6,015,700. In the United Kingdom, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the Soviet Union, including the Baltic States, there were an additional 3,930,500, making a total for all Europe of 9,946,200. Today, in the former occupied countries but 1,153,100 remain, and only a few hundred thousand of the difference can be accounted for by escape to Britain or other havens. In the remaining European countries, including Russia, only 3,071,500 remain, the deficit being accounted for by a loss of 800,000 in the Soviet Union—a good portion of which was occupied by Nazis and whose war losses were enormous. The total number of Jews in all Europe today is therefore but 4,224,600, somewhat over 40 per cent of the number there seven years ago. These figures are well worth the meditation of those who have not yet caught the real significance of racism, anti-Semitism and exaggerated nationalism.

THE REAL PROBLEM: BASIC RIGHTS

The more political-minded Zionists may possibly continue to ignore the underlying principles involved in this statement of the Committee. If they do, we can only regret their lack of vision. The solution of the European Jewish problem will not be brought about by universal flight nor by the establishment of a Jewish nation and citizenship. This sounds too much like the preposterous idea of solving the race problem in America by shipping all Negroes to Liberia. Such a procedure neither cures the disease nor achieves recognition of basic rights. All it does is give a new excuse to the vicious to persecute Jews because they are "foreigners." Moreover, desertion of continental Europe would still leave untouched the narrow anti-Semite hearts in the United States, Canada, Britain, Australia or in any of the other countries where Hitlerism was fought but racism is still to be found. What the Committee has in mind is evidently world support of a movement defending elemental human rights everywhere.

The Committee necessarily pleads for the admission of

refugee Jews, who cannot otherwise be provided for, to countries which can absorb them. But other "displaced persons" of Europe, in addition to the Jews, also must have places of refuge. Basically the problem is the same for all the homeless of the world. Extreme Zionists have tended to ignore this fact in their use of the unhappy plight of European Jews as an opening wedge to establishment of a Jewish State. The Report simply states:

In recommending that our Governments, in association with other countries, should endeavor to find new homes for "displaced persons," we do not suggest that any country should be asked to make a permanent change in its immigration policy. The conditions which we have seen in Europe are unprecedented and so unlikely to arise again that we are convinced that special provision could and should be made in existing immigration laws to meet this unique and peculiarly distressing situation. Furthermore, we believe that much could be accomplished—particularly in regard to those "displaced persons," including Jews, who have relatives in countries outside Europe—by a relaxation of administrative regulations.

The European population problem is grave. It must be met *now*, by extraordinary measures. It so happens that a large portion of the refugees are Jews who have a rightful claim on humanity for a suitable place to live. From such a starting point it is only logical that the Report should urge the admission of an exceptional number of Jews to Palestine, since they sincerely want to go and there seems no reason to believe they cannot be absorbed.

RIGHTS OF ARABS, CHRISTIANS, JEWS

The Committee does not contradict itself in recommending immediate admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine while emphatically denying the demands of the more political Zionists for an exclusively Jewish State. Historically there is no getting around the fact that Jews have been encouraged to regard Palestine as a Homeland and to settle there in large numbers. In 1914 there were in Palestine 689,000 persons of whom 85,000 were Jews. Today there are in the same country 1,700,000 persons of whom about 30 per cent are Jews. Nevertheless, the mere increase in numbers scarcely gives to Jews the right of exclusive domination. Arabs, both Moslems and Christians, have lived and settled there. They have, therefore, equal claims with other residents to participation in the government, without domination by a Jewish majority. The same holds true for the Arabs, who before World War I were subjects of the Turkish Empire, and today are but co-residents of Palestine with the Jews who also live there.

The idea of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine cannot now be repudiated. Besides, it provides a partial solution to the problem of Europe's refugee Jews. However, the Homeland idea cannot any longer be taken to imply a State run primarily by Jews. Nor can the rival Arab claims to an exclusive Arab State be allowed to destroy the Jewish Homeland. Nationalists may find this hard to understand. Actually it follows logically from the principle that human rights—among which is evidently the right to a home and a refuge—transcend claims to exclusive political domination along nationalist lines. While for good reason a country may limit immigration, it cannot do so morally solely on grounds of race, so long as human beings are denied access to the earth and the fruits thereof.

It is this very same principle of equality of opportunity—in the sense of right of access to resources necessary for normal human development—which forms the basis for

other recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry. Nationalist theories must not be taught in the schools, neither Jewish nor Arab, nor can a situation be allowed to continue in which Jewish residents receive considerable help from the outside for educational facilities and social services while the Arabs remain untaught and uncared for. A broader view is necessary, one which will take in the common good of every citizen of the Palestinian State. Attempts at intensive Jewish or Arab penetration, by means of restrictive covenants and discrimination in employment, are but another form of denial of opportunity and therefore must be abandoned. Palestine should, in short, be encouraged to develop as a country and not as the exclusive property of any particular group, basing their claims at best on dubious titles.

CLAIMS OF THE ARAB LEAGUE

Ibn Saud, ruler of Saudi Arabia, in his letter to President Roosevelt shortly before the latter's death, lays great stress upon the antiquity and justice of the Arab claims. His goal and that of other Arab leaders seems to be an Arab-dominated Palestine, probably as a full-fledged member of the Arab League. Many Arabs, both Moslems and Christians, seem determined to bring this about and consequently reject the Committee's Report as proposing an "injustice." The difficulty seems to be their failure—just as it was of some Jews—to appreciate the peculiar nature of the Palestine territory. Far from being just another segment of the "Arab World," it is now and will always remain a Holy Land in the minds of all religious Christians and Jews as well as of the Arabs themselves. To give its government to one group or the other is only inviting trouble.

The Arabs, reluctant as they are to receive it, get the same answer as the Zionists:

The religious importance of Palestine to Moslems, Jews and Christians alike makes it improper to treat it either as an Arab state or as exclusively designated to the fulfillment of Jewish nationalist aspirations. A solution of the Palestine problem must not only heal political rivalries of Jew and Arab, but must also safeguard its unique religious values.

Arabs, just as much as Jews, need to reflect on the Committee's observation that the absence of any single spokesman in Palestine for Christendom tends to obscure the "legitimate Christian interest in the Holy Land." Palestine, in spite of Arab claims to the contrary, is essentially an international problem.

BROAD PRINCIPLES STRESSED

The Palestine Report—whatever be the final outcome of the Committee's excellent work—gives the world a much needed lesson in the broader aspects of human rights. It recognizes the serious situation we now must meet in guaranteeing to all men elemental human liberties, whereby they can develop themselves, in accordance with the reasonable inclinations of their common human nature. It rebuffs the nationalist, and to a certain extent racial, claims which make portions of the earth's surface the exclusive property of those who find themselves able to dominate them, without regard for the needs of fellow human beings. It insists that world peace is of more importance than the ambitions of particular groups and that therefore all countries of the world must have a say when peace cannot otherwise be maintained. "Self-determination" has its limits.

Finally, the report reminds us that disputes between national groups or between nations cannot be settled on the basis of emotion or hidden ulterior aims but only on facts in accordance with accepted moral principles. The Anglo-American Committee brought to light both the facts and

the principles. Its recommendations point to the very urgent need for a recognized body of international law governing such situations, for a court which impartially studies claims, and for a law-enforcement body whose sole concern is the protection of a wider common good than that usually considered by individual nations. If the Palestine issue is not settled, the reason can only be the absence of just such an international system of law.

THE AGGRESSOR: INFLATION

EDWIN NIEDERBERGER

ONCE AGAIN the problem of inflation stands in the spotlight, forced there by the necessity of determining public policy. The Government has been committed to control of inflation, as a wartime expedient, with price regulation as its most powerful measure. Accepted with more or less grace, that measure is now being subjected to terrific opposition, as a whole and in principle. The practical alternatives being debated are complete abandonment of price control at the expiration of the present law, and extension of the law for one year or for some shorter period.

The foes of price control demand complete abandonment, and well they may, for they realize that inflation control, if it is to be done right, is a long-term job. They fear therefore that an extension of price control for a limited period may lead from one such period to another. While such limited extensions may be acceptable to those in favor of control as a matter of tactical necessity, it may be argued that the uncertainties resulting therefrom would be a serious impediment to full production.

For the good of everybody concerned, therefore—and that is everybody—the subject of inflation and price control should be given the fullest possible public examination right now, for unless the air is cleared and a definite understanding reached with the operators of the economy—producers and consumers alike—the present state of anxiety and resentment will grow worse. What is more, the chance of a lifetime may be missed.

ANALYZING "INFLATIONARY FACTOR"

There is a current statement to the effect that full production is necessary for the absorption of the inflationary factor. There is no argument over the desirability of full production. But the phrase "absorption of the inflationary factor" arouses one's curiosity. By "inflationary factor" is evidently meant excess purchasing power in relation to the volume of goods available for purchase. The inference seems to be that once production has caught up, a proper balance between production and purchasing power will be maintained thereafter. Yet the very statement belies this inference; for if production somehow has the power of "catching up," what is there to prevent it from "passing beyond"?

It is also interesting to analyze the notion of what constitutes the inflationary menace. It is commonly supposed to be a demand factor—postponed demand, if you will—supported by the enormous amount of purchasing power accumulated in the process of war production and withheld from the market by its diversion into war savings bonds and by the scarcity of goods. In May, 1945, the Office of Reconversion estimated such postponed demand at \$140 billion. Let us take another estimate, this time from the conservatives. F. A. Harper, in his *Crisis of the Free Market*, esti-

mates accumulated public savings, later in 1945, at \$165 billion. Without straining for exactness, one ought to be safe in admitting that accumulated purchasing power is gigantic, having been somewhere around \$160 billion last year.

WHO HAS THE MONEY?

A relevant question is, who has all these billions? It may well be reasoned that a frequency distribution of these billions would present a quite lop-sided picture. Being excess, and not required for the necessities of living, these billions would have tended to go to, and stay with, those who were already getting a large share of the national income. The study by the United Steelworkers of America of a typical group of steelworkers in a typical steel town, Braddock, Pa., shows their "deferred purchasing power" to have been, in January, 1945, an average of \$313. Applying this figure to the approximately 38 million wage- and salary-workers of the country—which would seem to be a safe and reasonable process—the result is a total of only \$12 billion. Considering the effects of decreased working time and earnings since the end of the war, including strikes and downgrading, the amount held by the millhands and office-workers would be much less now than a year ago. But even assuming it has remained unchanged, who has the other 150 or so billions to be accounted for?

It seems indisputable that the bulk of the excess purchasing power is not a demand factor, not a consumption potential. It is the surplus of the relatively few. It is an investment-potential.

This is an extremely important fact. It shows that the power of consumers' demand to raise prices is, of itself, not very strong nor would it last long. It also shows that there is not much of a consumption-potential based on deferred purchasing power; it would have to be based on current earnings. Incidentally, this may have been part of the reasoning behind the general demand for higher wages.

The inflation threat is, therefore, not so much on the demand side. It would more likely arise, in a long-term view, from a too exuberant unleashing of the investment-potential in the event that prices were freed.

INVESTMENT-POTENTIAL WAITS ON PROFITS

The present characteristic of this investment-potential is its hesitancy to be invested unless prices are freed so that higher profits would be more assured. So it lies in wait. In a way, it is on strike as much as any union ever was on strike.

The investment-potential would seem to be the hard core of the inflation threat. It is not content to remain as a potential, sterile and profitless. Nor is it content to be articulated at prevailing low rates of interest or at present profits in view of prospective profits at uncontrolled prices. Still less, therefore, is it content with price control. It must have production to be at all profitable, yet it would rather have production hang back if it sees a chance of more profits later when prices are freed.

If price controls were lifted, prices would begin to rise under the influence of the temporary and slight power of the consumption-potential. Then the investment-potential would begin to make its power felt as actual investment. Computation of prospective profits would be made in an optimistic manner, and ever higher prices asked for goods. There would be nothing to stand in their way, and the prices would be paid. Everybody would be hectically prosperous and everybody would be enthusiastic at the magnitude of the investments being made. Paid out as wages and

for materials and equipment, the money invested would enormously increase the excess of consumers' purchasing power over presently available consumers' goods. Prices would rise still higher. Yet, if there is anything to the theory of prices, a deficit of consumers' purchasing power in relation to the ever gathering avalanche of mushroomed production would be increasing silently, treacherously; for the purchasing power meant for the purchase of the goods of newer production will have been spent on the higher priced older goods. And one day the "bust" would come, the greatest and perhaps the last of its kind.

As a sidelight, it is curious to see how callously a conservative can look upon such a calamity, even though it might well be his own funeral. Writing of the possible effects of the freeing of prices, F. A. Harper says: "At some later date, presumably from a price level much higher than at present, a corrective downward price force can be looked for. That will become a highly important matter later, but is not the primary threat of the moment." The ostrich must bury its head.

Yet this hard core, the investment-potential, must be dealt with. It must not be allowed to run amok. Neither must it be stifled or discouraged by confusion and uncertainty.

A PROGRAM OF CAUTION

There would seem to remain the possibility of so guiding our economy that a prosperity, sober and restrained, yet of indefinite duration, might result. For it may be suggested that an investment-potential, being independent of and not arising from current production, is capable of beneficial manipulation. Under long-term price control, its introduction into the economy, not boisterously, but in a gradual and temperate manner, could, by increasing the production of goods and providing consumers' purchasing power, serve to maintain the equilibrium which normally is disrupted by the cumulative lag of consumers' purchasing power behind the total prices of goods that are produced and offered for sale.

Concomitantly, there should be further readjustments giving wages and salaries, on the consumption level, a greater share of the national income, in order to reduce the menace of "over-saving," which is a result of the maldistribution of wealth and income. There should also be the conscious application of income-taxation as a device to further the same purpose.

All of this would require most careful administration, for the price controls would have to operate between the extremes of unduly discouraging production and investment on the one hand, and of runaway production on a rising market, on the other.

But most important of all, the economy must be made to know where it stands, and will stand for a long time. The present tension and confusion must be somehow resolved—and soon.

It is a question of having a showdown now, or fighting a half-hearted rearguard action on inflation as it pushes us back to the inevitable economic Dunkerque.

WHO'S WHO

EDWIN NIEDERBERGER, since his discharge from the Army several months ago, has been on the staff of the *Pittsburgh Catholic*. Before the war, he held various administrative and statistical positions with certain of the governmental agencies.

THE COOL RECEPTION given by Moscow to the Byrnes' four-power pact for the disarmament of Germany has started a course of thinking in Washington that may lead to a drastic alteration of our high policy. This question is deeper than just "getting tough with Russia." It involves a change in our basic approach to international order. So radical a change does it mean, that the mere possibility of such a change is news. And, we are told, nobody is happy about it.

What are the issues? There are several questions that may be asked. They are: 1) What is this high policy? 2) Why are its foundations being shaken? 3) What could be substituted in its place? 4) Why is nobody happy about it?

Since the days of Cordell Hull our postwar planning for lasting peace has been built on the very sound and progressive principle that no nation should build up exclusive spheres of influence. Joint action all over the world, rather than unilateral action, should be the essence of the new order. In the new world order, said Mr. Hull on September 12, 1943, "there will be no longer need for spheres of influence, for alliances, for balance of power, or any other of the special arrangements through which, in the unhappy past, nations strove to safeguard their security or to promote their interests." We thought that we were at one with Russia on this score.

The course of events—most recently the rejection of the Four-Power proposition—has been forcing us to the conclusion that the Russians are determined in fact to build up in Eastern Europe an exclusive sphere. On the one hand they have surrounded themselves with a solid block of states which they control absolutely; on the other, the Western Powers, to their own disadvantage, have had to permit the Soviet Union to exercise influence in Western Europe.

What policy could be substituted for the one we have tried to employ and have found to be lacking on so many occasions? This would not be easy to formulate. For in reorganizing our basic approach to international order we run the risk of adopting measures that may lead us into abdication of the moral principles we have espoused as our postwar aims, and which nothing done by Russia in Eastern Europe or elsewhere should make us abandon.

The risk of such a new venture is all the greater in that a reversal of the Roosevelt-Hull program seems, at least on superficial examination, to be essentially a return to the old techniques and systems that students of history have universally condemned as breeders of war—systems of unilateralism or of blocs that by their very existence create rivalries. A relinquishing of the program for joint action with the Soviet Union could be misinterpreted at home and might even be taken to mean that we are conceding Russia a free hand in her zone. But it would, in fact, be merely the recognition of the actual state of affairs—that Big-Four unity had ceased to exist and that Russia did not intend to cooperate.

A new policy should be nothing more than a different approach to achieve the same ends. These ends are the formation of an international order based upon an international community of nations. The step, of the possibility of which we are being compelled to take note, should still mean a consolidation of the world under a system of law.

If we seem to be moving towards "two worlds," it should not be forgotten that if there is a "world" in which justice and law are denied, we are simply compelled to create and strengthen another "world" in which justice and law are—so far as we can achieve them—recognized as the foundation of society.

In a high policy of this nature, where a misstep could be costly, it is understandable that not only the statesmen in Washington but those whose primary concern is the implementation of moral principles are not happy over the prospect of change. For in changing over from the Roosevelt-Hull policy, there is real danger that other principles of that policy, still more primary, may be discarded in the process. There is no one in Washington who at this early stage wants to assume the responsibility of initiating so momentous a change.

There is yet one hope that this regrettable decision will not be forced upon us. It is that wiser heads in the Kremlin will see that the Soviet Union will be the loser should it force us to adopt a policy that will inevitably tend to take on the appearance and nature of an anti-Soviet coalition. This is the very thing the Russians fear the most. Is it possible that madness prevails in Moscow to that extent?

CAIP ON HUMAN RIGHTS

A CHINESE PHILOSOPHER has remarked that a Bill of Rights does not mean very much so long as you have to be afraid of the policeman at the next corner. And the policeman on the corner is an object of fear to too many people in too many places in the world today. More than that: fear of the policeman is the first step in that dragooning and muzzling of a people which enables the police state to build itself into a war machine and to prepare for the dragooning and muzzling of its neighbors.

Very timely, therefore, is the letter of Father R. A. McGowan, executive secretary of the Catholic Association for International Peace, to Secretary of State James F. Byrnes on the subject of human rights. For in New York the U. N. Commission on Human Rights is getting under way; and in Paris the Foreign Ministers are working on problems vitally affecting the rights of millions.

The security of human rights is a fundamental condition of human life. If men have to fear arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, if they fear to speak their minds, if they cannot associate for religious or legitimate political purposes, if they cannot criticize, much less change, their rulers, then their life is not human; it might well be characterized in the blunt words of Hobbes as "poor, nasty, brutish and short."

That is the reality underlying the CAIP's letter to our Secretary of State. The letter calls, among other things, not merely for the guaranteeing of human rights by the various governments and trustee Powers, but for "international and national associations of advisers to assist in the formulation and protection of human rights." (Italics added.)

True, this means a certain invasion of the old idea of national sovereignty. So be it. The world had to stand aside, in the name of sovereignty, while Hitler and Mussolini and Stalin built up their totalitarian states at the expense of the human rights of their subjects. Let us hear the American Hierarchy in their statement of December, 1944: "The ideology of a nation in its internal life is a concern of the international community. To reject this principle is tantamount to maintaining that the violation of the innate rights of men in a country by its own government has no relation to world peace."

This is a step forward in international relations; and it is

a step that must be taken. It must be taken in the interests of millions of men and women who need to be assured of at least that minimum of security without which life can hardly be called human. The experience of the past twenty years—or an honest look around the world now—makes it clear that paper guarantees are no safeguards against tyranny.

The CAIP does not urge anything precisely new on Secretary Byrnes; it does ask that our traditional solicitude for human rights should now become more forthright and forceful, by urging that the UN Commission be given real power to protect those rights everywhere. This is not only a morally commendable policy; in the light of the Second World War it is seen to be the only safe policy.

OUR AID IN FAMINE

AMERICAN HEARTS, said President Truman in his radio address of April 19, are warm enough to respond to the plight of the world's starving millions. Of that there is little doubt, especially as we witness the ingenious methods various individuals and groups have adopted to do their share. But there is, unfortunately, a great confusion in the mind of the average American. For this confusion the Administration is in no small measure to blame; contradictory reports emanate from Washington: the President himself stated on April 12 that the world food situation was lightening considerably; on the 18th he had to back-track and admit "it was worse than painted"; Mr. Hoover on the one side and Messrs. Lehman and LaGuardia on the other have but recently come to an agreement that the crisis is *not* a matter of a mere three months; Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson publicly asked for a requisitioning of wheat—Secretary of Agriculture Anderson countered that there was no thought of such a step.

In the face of such lack of firm and determined leadership, the average American may be forgiven for being quite mixed up. Just what, he asks, will happen to the loaf of bread I do not eat? Will it get into the fight against famine? Will it stay locked up as grain in some bulging granary? What can I do to make my sympathy effective?

You will not, of course, no matter what you actually do, see your sacrifices laid in the hand of some starving child; that happy event must be taken on faith. But you can do this, for example, as a practical and concrete course of action: set a definite restriction on the bread, the butter, the fat and grains, that you and the family will consume weekly; in particular, limit the luxury foods, such as pies and pastries; estimate what the foods given up would have cost; set aside that amount of money to be contributed to UNRRA or to the Emergency Food Collection, or, better still, to be used to buy canned goods for the NCWC-War Relief Services "Food for the Children of Europe and the Far East Campaign."

Such clearly defined steps are short ones, indeed, when this nation ought by now to be taking giant strides toward fulfilling its solemn obligations, but they are steps that will help us individually to clear up some of the confusion in our minds. It is to be hoped that our national policy will soon emerge from its present confusion into clear and definite action. Otherwise death for literally millions will outstrip us in the race.

NATIONAL SHAME

WE HAVE HAD our great moments, we citizens of the United States, moments when we were proud to be Americans and thanked God from the bottom of our hearts for the accident of birth which made us such.

But surely last week was not one of them. The coal strike was paralyzing a large part of the economy; the future of price control hung in the balance; grain shipments to Europe fell far below our promised quotas. To 500,000,000 hungry people in Europe and Asia, it must have been a very ugly spectacle; and in the quiet of our souls we were probably ashamed ourselves.

Perhaps the powerful business lobbies which were spending hundreds of thousands of dollars to destroy price controls—money which might have been spent to save starving children in India or China or Austria—felt themselves justified. After all, during the long war years they had submitted patriotically to controls, to Government red-tape, to limitations on profits. Now that the fighting was over, were they not entitled to cash in on the richest market in all history?

And John L. Lewis and his coal miners. Everybody knows, or almost everybody, that the lot of the miners has been a hard one. In years gone by, the industry has been grossly mismanaged, the men callously exploited. Now that the miners were strong, with a union to back them up, and the nation was in desperate need of coal, could anyone blame them for using their economic power, no matter what the cost to the country, to drive an advantageous bargain?

And our farmers—the dairy farmers, the corn and oats and wheat farmers, the cotton farmers, the tanned and sturdy men who raise and fatten hogs and steers and send them off to market—what bitter years they have known! If now they refused to sell the grain which a starving world sorely needed, because they preferred to hold it for a speculative rise in prices, could anyone really blame them?

If we consider only the group interests of those involved, there is nothing wrong with what the farmers are doing, and the workers and the businessmen; at least not in normal times and according to sound capitalistic principles. They are merely following, in a shrewd and realistic way, the sacred law of supply and demand.

But if we go beyond the group interests involved and consider the nobler interest of the common good, if we realize that these are not normal times but a period of bitterest distress, if we remember that the law of supply and demand does not excuse the violation of moral laws, then we shall see these acquisitive actions as the world sees them, and for what they really are—the surrender to selfishness pure and simple.

True, this selfishness is not unrelieved, for the work of charity goes on among us. But we must not forget that, although charity covers a multitude of sins, it is no substitute for open violations of justice. And that is precisely what is wrong with us today. We are failing in the great virtue of social justice, upon which the late Pope Pius XI insisted time and time again. "Now it is the very essence of social justice," he wrote in *Divini Redemptoris*, "to demand from each individual all that is necessary for the common good." That is what our farmers and workers and businessmen and all of the rest of us have forgotten: that it is wrong, it is sinful, to subordinate, as we have been doing, the common good to personal interest or to the interests of an economic group. And that is why, despite our works of charity, we must in the sight of the suffering world bow our heads in shame.

LITERATURE AND ART

SPRING HOUSECLEANING IN THE BOOK DEPARTMENT

HAROLD C. GARDINER

THIS, TO BE FRANK, is a clear-the-decks operation. The files of reviews received but not yet published has been swelling to gargantuan proportions in my desk, and perhaps (though I trust not) the disappointment of AMERICA readers has been growing apace that many books they have heard about, read about, wondered about have not been mentioned in these pages. Well, let me hint that I know where the blame lies—it lies at the door of two villains: the paper shortage and the booming book business. We have the paper shortage; whatever shortage afflicts the publishers, there has been a veritable flood of books—and that is why we have, I must admit, fallen somewhat behind in reviewing them.

However, perhaps that may here and now be somewhat rectified. I shall try, in what follows, to summarize the reviews of books that I would have liked to review more at length; in doing so, I shall be able to give a word of thanks to members of the reviewing staff, who may have been wondering what in the world has happened to the fruit of their very loyal labors. Finally, this omnibus treatment may give an occasion to say something about current book trends.

In the field of spiritual writing, two really impressive books were Msgr. Ronald Knox's *God and the Atom* (Sheed and Ward. \$2) and *The Divine Pity*, by the Rev. Gerald Vann, O.P. (Sheed and Ward. \$2.50). The first reinforces Msgr. Knox's reputation for style but, far beyond that, it is a stirring challenge to the exercise, in these days of atomic nightmares, of the Christian virtue of hope. The discussion of the problems that have been raised by our discovery of atomic power is done in masterly fashion, and the deepening of the religious spirit that must be consequent on that discovery, if the power is not to be simply monstrous, shows Msgr. Knox's own deep spiritual insight, and should serve to awaken our perhaps slumbering one. Father Vann calls his book a study of the social implications of the beatitudes. He links up, for parallel consideration, each of the beatitudes with a corresponding Commandment. What is particularly commendable is his illumination of the positive aspects of those beatitudes which would seem, to a less perceptive mind, to be on the side of negation: such as the blessing promised to those who mourn. This is a book for quiet and meditative reading.

The Rev. Andrew J. Krzesinski discusses contemporary mission problems in his *Christianity's Problem in the Far East* (Fides. \$2). Among the remedies he offers for some of the difficulties, reviewer Thomas O'Shaughnessy points out, are a more widespread adaptation to native cultures and the reorganization of education in the missions to place greater emphasis on Christianity, considered in its philosophical and ethical foundations. The reviewer thinks that the author errs in his statement that earlier missionaries like Fathers Ricci and Nobili went too far in making concessions to native customs.

What the lack of a "theology of life" may leave a sincere and generous man with in the way of values is well illustrated in *The Clock of History*, by Alvin Johnson (Norton. \$3). Father Peter M. Dunne, S.J., in his review finds that the essays, which cover a great sweep of subjects,

give no reasons for the author's faith in democratic liberalism and even suggest by implication that no permanent solution for today's problems can be found in mere liberalism. Right philosophy, stabilized and made effective by religious truth, is what is needed.

In the much-discussed field of race relations, *Marching Blacks*, by Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (Dial. \$2.50), does not add much that is new, save the author's very vocal indignation. Father Charles Keenan finds throughout the book too much stridency and a rigid adherence to the communist party line, but feels that the book may serve a good purpose if it rouses in Catholic readers a just and temperate indignation that may serve as a spark to action.

Biography has not fared too well in late months. Cyril Clemens has written a popular life of President Truman, called *The Man from Missouri* (Didier. \$2). Reviewer Joseph Huttlinger finds a pleasant ring of truth and homeliness about the book and a wealth of detail that seems the result of careful fact-ferreting. Lafcadio Hearn, Stalin, Mohammed, Alexander Hamilton and Chaucer have been studied in biographical fashion; Chaucer's book is reviewed this week, and I hope to cover the others soon.

Fiction has slumped considerably. There is really no first-rate work since the appearance of *Brideshead Revisited*. And yet the story-teller's art continues to attract its hordes of readers. A recent newspaper item reveals the startling information that for the first six months of 1945, 95 per cent of the people surveyed had read the Bible (often only in fragmentary fashion), while 84 per cent had read *Forever Amber*. It is this tasteless public which is fair bait for publishers who will pander to its prurency, and so it is no surprise to see that two other works which are reputed to out-*Amber Amber* are now having large sales. They are *Duchess Hotspur*, by Rosamund Marshall (Prentice-Hall) and *The Life and Death of the Wicked Lady Skelton*, by Magdalen King-Hall (Rinehart and Co.). *The Wake of the Red Witch*, by Garland Roark (Little, Brown. \$2.75) and *Lustre in the Sky*, by R. G. Waldeck (Doubleday. \$2.75), according to the review-opinions of Elizabeth M. Joyce and Thomas J. Fitzmorris, very nearly reach the dizzy standard of repellent sexuality set by the former two.

Rising considerably above these murky (and silly) depths, *No More a Stranger*, by Anne B. Fisher (Stanford. \$3), attempts to treat in fiction form the months Robert Louis Stevenson spent in Monterey, California, in 1879. Josephine Nicholls Hughes' review judges that the historical atmosphere is well done, and that the treatment of the Indian question is excellent, but that the characters are wooden and that it is hard to estimate what is fact and what is fiction. The fact that the story deals with Stevenson's liaison with Fanny Osbourne makes it suitable only for adults. The same reviewer comments that *Valley Boy*, by Theodore Pratt (Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$2.50), which has for its theme the disastrous results of parental neglect on an eleven-year-old boy, is rendered objectionable by its "continual, unwholesome preoccupation with sex," which is an artistic defect, as well, for it attributes to the boy an awareness far beyond his years.

Lost Haven, by Kylie Tennant (Macmillan. \$3), is hardly worth staying with, in the opinion of reviewer Fortunata Caliri, not unless "there is some obscure significance in untangling the family relationships so that you remember whose wife is living with whose husband and whose children

are being swapped—and swatted—around.” August Derleth has avoided going quite that far, but his *The Shield of the Valiant* (Scribner's. \$3), studying the effects of malicious town-gossip on the lives of two people in love, makes that gossip revolve too much around the motive of sex frustration, in the opinion of William A. Dowd.

The scale rises a little higher when we come to *The Black Venus*, by Rhys Davies (Howell, Soskin. \$2.75), which, though it treats a topic that might have been sly and leering, turns out to be a kindly sermon on the dignity of marriage. Reviewer Marjorie Holligan judges that if the author's notion of contented marriage falls short of the Catholic ideals of the Sacrament, “it nevertheless carries a Christian overtone.” Father Robert E. Holland finds that one's enjoyment of *The Life Line*, by Phyllis Bottome (Little, Brown. \$2.50), will depend on one's ability “to absorb and to like long paragraphs of manic-depressive psychiatry.” The story has to do with an Englishman's faking of insanity, so as to ferret secrets from the Nazis and help in the liberation of Austria. As a spy story, it is about average; but it is weighted down with clinical lore.

An unusual book is *The Gallant Years*, by Anne Powers (Bobbs-Merrill. \$2.75), whose story is set in Ireland toward the close of the fourteenth century. It is a story of struggle for supremacy between the native Irish, the Norman lords and the “new English.” Father Dowd finds in this tale of love and ruthless war something “far above the level of ordinary thrillers, in its sharp delineation of character, in its rich historical background, and in its surprising, though satisfying, climax.” Another novel on the unusual side is T. Morris Longstreth's *Two Rivers Meet in Concord* (Westminster. \$2.50). It deals with a young man of Concord, his admiration for Thoreau and his struggle to fight slavery and win true love. Unfortunately, says reviewer Thomas J. Fitzmorris, it is marred by bookishness through the intrusion of large gobs of Thoreau.

In commending Leone Lowden for her historical novel of Indiana during the Civil War, *Proving Ground* (McBride. \$3), Mary L. Dunn emphasizes the book's “authentic background, skilful characterization and powerful conflicts between defeatism and faith, greed and unselfishness, treachery and loyalty.” Joan Charles, thinks reviewer Joan Grace, has written an intelligent, constructive, flawlessly written book in *And the Hunter Home* (Harper. \$2.50), which deals with a returned veteran and his attempts not to slip back into the easy-going rut of his pre-war days. *Foretaste of Glory*, by Jesse Stuart (Dutton. \$2.50) strikes reviewer Francis Griffin as “a dress rehearsal for Judgment Day.” It is really a series of character sketches, strung on the thread of politics in a Kentucky town and precipitated by the townsfolk's terror of the Last Day, which seemed to have dawned for them. There is a gentle and witty satire running beneath the surface—the irony that people will unite only in common danger. The reviewer concludes his estimate by saying that the book is “as good as an old-fashioned revival meeting and, despite some race blemishes, just as refreshing.”

Mary Stack McNiff finds that *The Unreasoning Heart*, by Constance Beresford-Howe (Dodd, Mead. \$2.50), another novel of a family seen through the eyes of an orphan girl taken in by them, has a rather pedestrian plot, but that the “poignant uncertainties of adolescence, the rapid shift-ings from child to woman, from maturity to immaturity, are handled with delicacy and sympathy.” The same reviewer feels that *Not Yet the Moon*, by Eve Langley, is a distinctly “different” book. It tells of the adventures of two young Australian girls who set out to be migratory farm workers for the purpose of seeing their native land. There is a gaiety

that runs very refreshingly through the story, a beauty of description and a deep understanding “of youth and of the joyous resources of the human spirit.”

Another sincere attempt to state the realities and even brutalities of race discrimination, *Trumpet to the World*, by Mark Harris (Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.50), falls into the quicksand of sex episodes in the plot and vulgarity of phrase and incident. Mary Burke Howe thinks that they will cause the serious reader to turn away from what otherwise could have been recommended as a vigorous and honest statement. Alfred Leland Crabb has turned out another fine Civil-War-days story in *Lodging at the Saint Cloud* (Bobbs-Merrill. \$2.50). Father Joseph R. N. Maxwell reviews it very favorably, finding in it an atmosphere of warmth and graciousness, and the strong courage of deep patriotism.

Finally, in fiction, reviewer Mary Burke Howe finds in *The Other Side*, by Storm Jameson (Macmillan. \$1.75), a novel that treats the causes of European wars with wisdom, fair-mindedness and clarity of vision. It is a story of mixed loyalties, dealing largely with the position of a patriotic French girl who has married a German. Around her and the other characters there are unmistakable implications of national ideologies, but it is not an ideological novel; it is human and gripping and the conflict of wills “holds the reader's heart as no tale of physical violence could do.”

Adventure tales have been many, but perhaps none has had the build-up that was lavished on *Man-Eaters of Kumaon*, by Jim Corbett (Oxford. \$2). The story of a big-game hunter is quite in the standardized pattern and, for all the *pukka sabib* atmosphere that laps round it, Francis X. Curran's review indicates, it carries its modicum of excitement. *Voodoo in New Orleans*, by Robert Tallant (Macmillan. \$2.50), according to Father Charles Keenan, has a title that is more exciting than the contents of the book. It is simply a concatenation of tales about famous and lesser known practitioners of the dark art, and not half as shudderingly occult as the thrill-greedy reader would like. More thrills, and authentic ones, Paul J. Phelan suggests, in reviewing *Treasure Hunter*, by Lieut. Harry E. Rieseberg (McBride. \$3), will be found in this history of deep-sea diving and the search of sunken galleons. The author foresees a great rise in ocean treasure-hunting, and has himself invented some novel equipment for salvaging wealth from the briny deep.

Last in the categories of the present round-up come the books on various aspects of the war. Two tense little books have caught well the attitudes of the men who saw all that combat could show them. Both books are simple reports of the fighting; neither labors any lesson, but they teach one nevertheless, says John Conron's evaluation. They are *Coral Comes High*, by Capt. George P. Hunt, U.S.M.C.R. (Harper. \$2.) and *The Long, the Short and the Tall*, by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. (Knopf. \$3.) One of the best of the factual books is *The Great Pacific Victory*, by Gilbert Cant (Day. \$3.50), which completes a three-volume history of operations in the Pacific. It is, thinks Joseph Huttlinger, brilliantly written and deserved a better fate than to be published when interest may have considerably lapsed. Finally, in *Sub Rosa*, Stewart Alsop and Thomas Braden (Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.50), present the facts about the Office of Strategic Services, which was our super-super spy and sabotage arm during the war. There are facts galore, the same reviewer reports, but some of them are thrilling enough to seem like fiction.

And so, the clear-the-decks operation concludes. Next year, paper supplies and ambition granted, I hope to bring AMERICA readers a spring book supplement to balance the year's-end supplement you presently enjoy—or do you?

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BOOKS

BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

I CHOSE FREEDOM: THE PERSONAL AND POLITICAL LIFE OF A SOVIET OFFICIAL. By Victor Kravchenko. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50

THE AMERICAN READER, unfamiliar with or totally ignorant of Soviet reality, will be startled by Mr. Kravchenko's book about Soviet life in peace and war. To his shock will be added the realization that the author is an exile from the Soviet Union, a *rara avis* in America. It is not as if there have not been many books about the Soviet Union, its gigantic "achievements," its industrialization, scientific records and, above all, the heroic deeds of the proletarian Red Army. For the most part, however, the writers have been domestic or imported apologists and protagonists of the Soviet philosophy; some of them have learned about the Stalin regime from the books and pamphlets of the Comintern, or its American branch, others made voyages to the Soviet Union, where, led by the *Intourist* people, they were allowed to "learn" in a short time all that was necessary to write a profitable book for the American market. There were also, alas, our diplomatic representatives who, in turn, brought forth their observations and impressions of what they termed "our great ally."

Now, however, a novel picture is presented, all the more strange because of the recent war cooperation between the Allies and because of the general painful awareness that, no matter what was going on inside the USSR, it was necessary to keep fighting the common enemy.

Disclaimed and belittled by the Soviet representatives here, Mr. Kravchenko is, actually, a product of the Soviet system. Born in the Ukraine in 1905, he was a child of a revolution that rocked the trembling empire of Tsar Nicholas II. By 1917 he was mature enough to see and understand the beginning of a new era.

His life was one bitter experience of constant fear before the long arm of a totalitarian state that rules with terror. A son of a revolutionist, he knew poverty and hunger; as a child he worked in the Donetsk coal mines. He served with the Red Army on the Persian border fighting *basmatchi*, the Moslem guerillas. He became a foreman in a pipe-rolling factory in the Ukraine, studied at the Technical Institute in Kharkov, became a factory director as a qualified engineer of heavy metallurgy, later was admitted to *Sovnarcom* (Soviet People's Commissars) of the Russian SFSR, and finally was a member of the Soviet Purchasing Commission sent to the United States in connection with the Lend-Lease operations.

Mr. Kravchenko, surely, was of top-flight rank. He was of the élite as an ardent member of *Comsomol* and later as a disciplined member of the Communist Party. As a protégé of Ordzonikidze, Commissar of Heavy Industry, he fought for a better future. For him, as he himself admits, "not to accept the Kremlin's decisions was to argue with an earthquake." But his loyalty began to waver when he was sent to the villages in the Ukraine to supervise and enforce the collectivization policy and "liquidate the Kulaks as a class." His account of terror, of planned starvation and famine, of mass arrests and executions, of deportations of millions of people, and of the brutality of the GPU and the Cheka, is nothing short of appalling.

In the time of great purges the author himself went through morbid and gruesome experiences. He barely escaped the NKVD, an improved version of the GPU, when thousands upon thousands were sacrificed to the Moloch of Terror. Under a system of intricate spying, involving tons of *dossiers* and a vast army of agents, survival was almost impossible, when the whole of Lenin's old guard of Bolsheviks was sent to the death cellars of the NKVD after the Kirov assassination in 1934; among others, Zinoviev, Kamenev and, later, Bukharin, Rykov, Rakovsky, Piatakov, Radek, Tukhachevsky, Yegorov, Yagoda and Yezhov fell. Some of the lesser lights were exiled, some tortured and executed, but as a whole they were cast into vast concentration camps as special labor for the "NKVD projects." Men, women and children were condemned to forced labor. Every-

one was suspected, everyone was frightened, for anyone could be a secret agent or *agent provocateur* and, indeed, everyone was told to inform.

Mr. Kravchenko is a Ukrainian by birth; therefore, he is open to the charge of being biased toward his country's oppressor, Stalin. He is not, however, what one calls "nationally conscious" of the Ukraine. He didn't follow those like Skripnik, Zatonsky, Petrovsky or Khvylovy, who advocated a real autonomy for the Ukraine within the USSR, much less the ardent nationalists who were opposed to any form of Russian domination of the Ukraine. He accepted the Party policy in all its major *démarches*: collectivization and industrialization under the Five-Year Plan. Yet he was to see the inequalities among workers, the emergence of a privileged class, the pretorians of the regime, and the plight of those who were reduced to the class of miserable pariahs.

Mr. Kravchenko scorns the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, so glorified in some quarters of the United States. The Hitler-Stalin pact took the Soviet masses completely aback. The *Voks*, a Soviet agency, immediately started to propagandize the Nazi *Kultur* among the people, who had previously heard nothing but condemnation of everything Hitler stood for. To cover Stalin's strategic blunder in trusting Germany, a new theory was invented—that of "strategic security" (rape of Poland and the Baltic States). The author charges that the large-scale economic undertakings under the Hitler-Stalin pact drained the USSR of the very products and materials needed for its own defense. Mountains of steel, aluminum, copper were turned over to Hitler and, as a result, the Soviet defenses in the first stages of the war, in the hands of famed incompetents like Voroshilov and Budienny, were hopelessly weak, enabling the Germans to make astonishing gains and inflict heavy Soviet casualties. When the Germans were at the gates of Moscow, the capital was completely defenseless and psychologically in surrender (p. 377). He refers to the "obscene absurdity in a strange, half-literate book by former Ambassador Joseph Davies" as to the absence of a "fifth column" in the Soviet Union.

Indeed, the official line, he writes, was that the Soviet Union was "rotten with fifth columnists, saboteurs, fascist agents, panic-mongers, spies, enemies, disorganizers, cowards, deserters, etc." These were, of course, not pro-German, he says, but millions of patriots who hated the Stalin dictatorship. Mr. Kravchenko estimates that about 20,000,000 people were arrested at the outbreak of the Soviet-German war. The military tribunals and the efficient NKVD worked day and night. Entire Red Army divisions went over to the enemy—a case probably unique in history. Only the German *Schrecklichkeit* policy, with its brutality and terror in the occupied territories, rallied the masses around the government, for which Stalin can be thankful to Hitler's lack of insight.

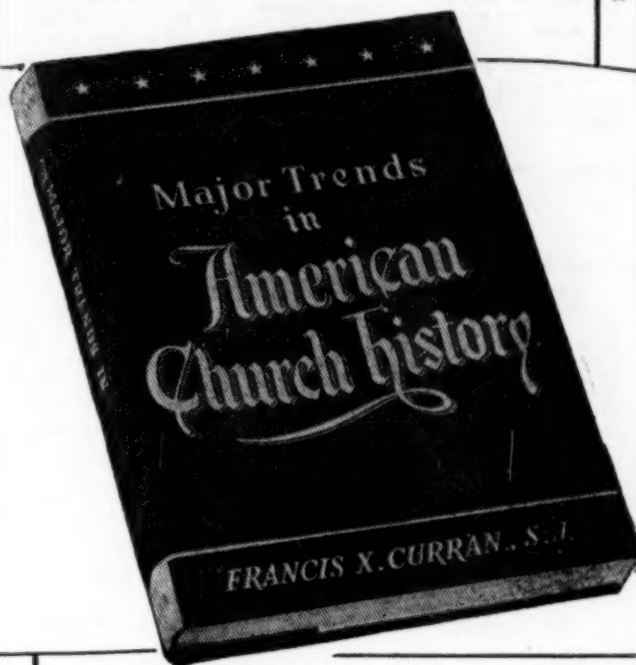
He derides those "charlatans" in America who write books about the Soviet Union and yet who know nothing about its internal ordeals. He complains that "the very people who should be on our side are so often on the side of tyrants and torturers" (p. 253). He lashes out at "liberals" like Henry Wallace and Joseph E. Davies for their deliberate misrepresentation of reality, and charges that they are following the second, or Party-approved, "truth" about the Soviet Union.

I Chose Freedom, then, is a severe indictment of the Soviet Union. Disdaining a pretentious study, or any quibbling about Soviet dialectical philosophy, Mr. Kravchenko contents himself with a graphic exposition of internal Soviet life. He is not a disillusioned André Gide or Eugene Lyons, who, in their quest for a socialist paradise, found nothing but tyranny. He is a man who helped erect the edifice, who has not lost faith in Communism, who did not cease to be a Socialist and who has not renounced Marx or Lenin. Simply, he could no longer bear the super-despotism of Stalin, and instead chose freedom in America.

That is why his book is unique. His abundant knowledge, his connections with the most important people in the Soviet Government and his experiences make the book a document of rare political importance. It points out the ultimate goal of world communism—world domination—which entails the destruction of our Church and civilization as we know it. Those who find it difficult to understand Mr. Kravchenko's warning may take a look at those unhappy countries which

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have now become satellite states of the enslaving Soviet Union. His warning is underscored by the fearful protests of the displaced persons who prefer suicidal death rather than a return to their Soviet-dominated countries.

WALTER DUSHNYCK

MISINTRODUCING. . . .

GEOFFREY CHAUCER OF ENGLAND. By *Marchette Chute*.

E. P. Dutton and Co. \$3.75.

THIS IS AN EFFORT to give a popular presentation of Chaucer's life, works and times. The author gives a "Selected Bibliography," but there is no indication anywhere of what connection there may be between the bibliography and the text. There are footnotes, but they are mostly rambling interpretations or large generalizations called to mind by something in the text. On the ground that "a really good writer is always a modern writer," the author tries to make Chaucer "a little less of a stranger" in the hope that "any reader who enjoys meeting Chaucer in this book will go on and extend the acquaintance" (p. 7).

Two previous volumes have come from her pen. *Rhymes About the Country* (Macmillan, 1941), a book of verses about children for children; and *The Search for God* (Dutton, 1941). A review of the second may be found in *Thought*, June, 1942, p. 325. Its subject is the Bible. The Bible should illuminate itself, being a book of the Spirit. Hence, in the Foreword, she expresses disdain for the biblical scholar and the trained theologian, for critical apparatus and traditional meanings; yet (the reviewer, Lawrence Atherton, observes) she has "assimilated every error from Cerinthus to Harnack."

Having swept through the Scriptures, she sweeps through the world, works and times of Chaucer. It is a large sweep, in general keeping with the previous performance. The graduate student might read it for recreation. The undergraduate student will find whatever useful material it contains better put in his histories and scholarly editions of Chaucer. The Catholic student will be amused or sore aggrieved at the intellectual blindness shown regarding most things Catholic. It does not seem to occur to her that there are Catholics still alive who might read her book or read Chaucer. She seems to find it hard to believe that Chaucer could be a Catholic, and so smart. She finds all sorts of clashes between Chaucer and his religion. And, of course, she gets quite completely tangled up in his "Renunciation," or "Retraction."

Were Chaucer with us, I should like to watch the play of light and shadow on his face as he read the passage on page 114 in which his gullibility is being presented with becoming condescension. His particular affection for the tellers of tales is being stressed. In the *Hous of Fame* "he lists the historians of Troy . . . ending with the great English expert, Geoffrey of Monmouth. The only name on the list whose veracity is suspect is Homer's." Homer is suspect because the English had been assured by Geoffrey of Monmouth that they were descended from Aeneas who came from Troy. "Chaucer presents this point with deep gravity, but it is a gravity that is somewhat suspect also." Chaucer would enjoy knowing that his gravity is suspect "somewhat."

It is especially where things Catholic are alluded to or needed for the understanding of a passage that Chaucer would find this volume amusing, or amazing, or quite incomprehensible. What was meant by him for the ears of a fourteenth-century courtly circle would look queer to him as seen through the eyes of a twentieth-century American college graduate, tinged alike with a Puritanical concept of Christianity and an uncritically accepted contemporaneous rationalism. Should this popularization inspire a qualified Catholic scholar to issue a sound popularization, it would have served a good turn.

But the really important point looks beyond popular writers. One thinks not merely of this author, but of the professors who taught her and the scholarly Chaucerian authorities whom she read. There is no literary field in more crying need of Catholic scholarly cultivation in English than that of Chaucer. We Catholics have ourselves to thank, in part, that a scholarly edition of Chaucer by a Catholic is not

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available to sincere and qualified non-Catholic scholars who would use it eagerly in their work. But they, too, are to blame in part. With all their minute fidelity to scholarly citation ethics, and their many other admirable qualities, they seem to me to neglect one scholarly element to an amazing degree. They are dealing with an era in which, they all agree, the theologian dominated the fields of learning. Yet they seem to be at insufficient pains to inquire what the theologian meant by his technical terms. That meaning seeped down into all levels of society.

In the book before us, for example, the expression "the Church," is used in various contexts to mean: the clergy (or rather, as of that time, to mean clerics, or clerks, i.e., even those who had only received the tonsure); the faith; mystical, ascetical, dogmatic or moral writings, confusedly; the Fathers of the Church; the commandments and the counsels without distinction; provincial synods; pronouncements of individual bishops or priests; etc. In matters such as this, the majority of Chaucer scholars could not help her much. Too commonly, they themselves do not know. It is the burden of Catholic scholars to supply the lack.

EDWARD SHIPSEY

NO HERO SEEKING AN AUDIENCE

A SOLO IN TOM-TOMS. By Gene Fowler. The Viking Press. \$3

SO MANY OF THE RECENT autobiographies retell the personal history of native-born citizens who have been fascinated by the snake eyes of ideologies that comrade around with Red Fascism, that *A Solo in Tom-Toms* is a refreshing breeze through the reader's mind. This story of a Rocky Mountain boyhood and the quest for a father is as American as Buffalo Bill himself. When this master reporter pulls up his typewriter to re-create the Rockies of his youth and the scenes and companions of those days, Gene Fowler writes as he thinks—American. This native atmosphere, unmarred by the lure of any foreign *ism*, is the chief charm of *A Solo in Tom-Toms*.

In these pages Colorado of the 'nineties and the turn of the century, the ordinary folk we all know and some of the famous and to-be-famous, are encountered. There was a memorable mother-in-law vs. son-in-law clash over a cup of coffee and the little word "please," and Gene's father went hermiting into the mountains for thirty years. Granny forcibly took over the child's upbringing. She was a pioneer woman with a tongue that needled those she held in low regard. She labeled Gene's father "a dream-ridden failure" and lamented her weakness in ever permitting Gene's parents to meet in the first place as "the biggest mistake since Tiberius Caesar named Pontius Pilate governor of Lower Galilee."

Among the facets of Fowler's style are the delightful digressions he falls into when he recalls a character met in his boyhood. We are treated to such thumbnail biographies again and again. All are vivid. *A Solo in Tom-Toms* is written in a happy journalistic style, highlighted by the author's genius for choosing the apt simile or metaphor: "Pike's Peak . . . hatted by a Gainsborough cloud"; "the arthritic drawer of my desk"; after a heavy snowstorm "the trees of Central Park bundled in ermine." Among the notables Gene Fowler knew and worshipped was Colonel Cody, and his description of the shabby sunset of the life of Buffalo Bill stands out. Again to quote the author: "This is not a book of confessions, but the story of a quest and of things as seen through the eyes of a child among the mountains and plains, a spectator in search of heroes, rather than a hero seeking an audience." This sentence fittingly sums up *A Solo in Tom-Toms*. The only flaw in the ointment is that modern writer's defect: an occasional lack of reticence when profanity is recorded.

NEIL BOYTON

THE FIELDS. By Conrad Richter. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50
OHIO, EMERGING from the Northwest Territory but still a frontier against the wilderness, is the setting for this sequel to *The Trees*, and the novel pauses, rather than ends, with the apparent intention of growing into a saga. An effective

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re-creation of the locale is easily the major achievement here, and Mr. Richter enriches the field of Americana more than that of the novel. As a matter of fact, it is a superior example of an inferior *genre*, the novel of research, and finds its appeal in homely, marginal historical types rather than in the *papier-mâché* rakes and fatal beauties currently cluttering best-seller lists.

The heroine is that same Sayward who followed the vagabond chase of woodland game which was her father's whole life. Now, married to a reclaimed gentleman, she has taken root and struggles against her great natural antagonist, the trees which hold civilization back from their ancient sunless stretches. Sayward rears her family, works her farm, promotes religion and community life, and smooths the way to local eminence for her lawyer husband. Mr. Richter excels in authentic descriptions of wild places, domestic pursuits and violent incidents. He makes it starkly clear that pioneering was a cruel, grinding, heroic business, but he adds a measure of simple pleasures, those of the spirit and those reflecting the sociability of the times.

The characterization, in important instances, is less successful. Sayward seldom escapes her literary fate as a symbol of our young civilization, admirable as that symbol is. It is as common in our historical novels as it is uncommon in our contemporary life. Her husband, Portius, even less credible as a kind of Tom Paine in lower-case letters, is a "noble" free-thinker. He preaches Abolition and practises adultery. His regrets are regular but expressed in a sonnet of Shakespeare's rather than in a sense of sin. While everyone, including the author, appears content to allow the woman to bear the censure with the child, there is at least the relief of reticence in Mr. Richter's treatment. And Portius, in spite of impersonal tolerance, is obviously not of a piece with the rest of the novel.

THOMAS J. FITZMORRIS

NORTH STAR COUNTRY. By Meridel LeSueur. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$3.

THIS BOOK IS THE THIRTEENTH in the "American Folkway" series. It is a poetically written, episodic, impressionistic story of the Minnesota-Wisconsin country from the earliest explorations to modern times. The emphasis is on the frontier years.

The frontier history is such a fascinating, vital, changing story that any fairly adequate account of it is bound to be interesting—as this one is. The glimpses of the French regime are especially memorable because—except for place names—there remain so few visible marks in the upper Middle West of this colorful period.

But to a reader who knows the Minnesota-Wisconsin country and who has studied something of its development, *North Star Country* is a disappointing book, beginning with page one. The heading of the first chapter quotes the Kensington Runestone, dated 1362, and dug up in modern times in Minnesota. Supposedly a record left by fourteenth-century Norwegian explorers, this stone is a much debunked "source" which should not have been used in a book such as this one.

The book does not give a sufficient picture of the efforts that went into the organization of schools and churches. It does not describe the factors which influenced the widely varying styles of architecture. The pioneer work of the nuns is entirely neglected. The cultural effect of the impact of New England puritanism on the European traditions of immigrants is not properly presented. In short, the episodes and interpretations which constitute the book make interesting reading but they do not give an adequately representative view of the cultural development of the country and people considered.

RUTH BYRNS

WALTER DUSHNYCK holds degrees from Louvain and Columbia. He has done extensive research in the history of Eastern Europe.

REV. EDWARD SHIPSEY, S.J., is head of the Department of English at the University of Santa Clara.

THEATRE

TWILIGHT OF CRITICISM. While business, labor, consumers and other elements of our complex society are desperately hunting a notch into which to slip a peg that will halt the spiraling cost of things, the major American diversions—sports and theatre—are already victims of wildcat inflation. The promotor of the Louis-Conn fight for the heavyweight title is asking \$100 for ringside seats, which may be as far from the ring as the forty-seventh row, and it is rumored that show producers are considering a \$12 top for the 1946-47 season. The economics of show business indicate that a \$12 top may be justifiable, or even just, as it is well known that production costs are skyrocketing. What is not so well known, apparently not even noticed by the individuals most concerned, is that the inflationary trend in the theatre is squeezing the ancient and honorable craft of dramatic criticism out of existence.

The production cost of a one-set play with half a dozen characters is approximately \$50,000. A decently mounted musical requires a minimum investment of \$100,000. The producer puts his money on the line before the first admission is sold in a try-out town like New Haven or Baltimore. The cost of maintenance—rent, salaries, the railroad fee for hauling the actors and scenery from one city to another, and numerous other items of overhead—is another headache. Besides, a producer may run into complications with Petrillo or John L. Lewis' District 50, which will make it more costly to keep his production going. With so much money involved, producers, being human, are not inclined toward taking chances. If a production is not an immediate hit, its sponsor will find himself in the financial doghouse. Aware of that fact, most producers try to protect themselves by sticking to those theatrical products they feel sure the public will buy.

The first thing they think of, usually, is star-insurance. They hire Ray Bolger, Mary Martin, Gertrude Lawrence, Walter Huston or any other actor with a huge following that will put the production over with a bang, without regard to quality. Their next thought is to get hold of a script that tells the *Oklahoma* or *Life with Father* story in different words. If a script isn't sure-fire, producers are not interested.

Show business, formerly related to one of the major arts, has become—a business. Art is original and experimental. Inflation in the theatre makes originality and experiment too expensive. When the stage ceases to be an art and becomes an investment, the drama critic's function may soon be annexed by the real-estate editor of the *Journal of Commerce*.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

HEARTBEAT. By combining a Cinderella theme with an oblique play on the female Raffles motif, this romantic melodrama makes an all-out assault on stock responses, which guarantees its thoughtless appeal in spite of technical inequalities. It may be superfluous to point out the bow made to the Fagin tradition also, in remarking that the plot is machine-made and as suggestive as a sequel to an anthology. The innocent heroine leaps from the reform school into the fire when she undergoes tutoring in thievery. Her first attempt at picking pockets lands her, not in the toils of the law, but in the midst of diplomatic intrigue where her deft fingers are employed in state affairs. By a bit of polite blackmail she establishes her social position to the point where she can spurn a marriage of convenience and marry the mere ambassador of her choice. The story may sound morally precarious in outline, but all the sharp turns are banked with excuses and, in spite of the diffuse action, director Sam Wood makes the plot both neat and gaudy. Ginger Rogers, Jean Pierre Aumont, Basil Rathbone and a well dressed cast make this a fairly satisfactory fairytale for *grownups*. (RKO)

A STOLEN LIFE. Plot-makers from Plautus to our own times have shown a childish fondness for the complication of identical twins, even though it has never produced a believ-

able drama. The present film adds the burden of being a remake. The twins involved in this offering are opposite numbers in everything but physical appearance and when the unworthy one steals her sister's lighthouse inspector and later drowns, the noble one is given an opportunity to impersonate a happy wife. Curtis Bernhardt's direction is suitably introspective and the action correspondingly slow. Bette Davis plays the sisters as if they were contradictories surrounded by improbabilities, aided by Glenn Ford, Dane Clark, Walter Brennan and Charles Ruggles. The picture may find a welcome among sentimental *adult* audiences. (Warner)

THE PHANTOM THIEF. The true phantom in this picture is the idea which could have transformed a routine thriller into a significant story. It wastes its time on Hollywood's favorite contemporary menace, the wayward psychiatrist, and underestimates a perennial evil which calls for a better debunking in any postwar period—namely, spiritualism. Boston Blackie proves his mettle against murder and manufactured spirits, and Dr. Ross Lederman's treatment is weakly theatrical. There would have been more dramatic substance for *adult* audiences and more public service in an exposure of the ectoplasm artists and table-rappers, which recognized the problem in its unfortunate seriousness. (Columbia)

THOMAS J. FITZMORRIS

PARADE

EZECHIEL, PROPHET of the Old Law, must have rolled over in his grave recently when the syndicated newspaper feature entitled: "Let's Explore Your Mind," by Albert Edw. Wiggam, ran the following article: "Question—Does the Bible warn people and nations against having too many children? Answer: Yes. As pointed out by the Washington Population Reference Bureau, the command, 'Be fruitful and multiply,' applied only to Adam and Eve and to Noah, when the world was empty. Later in Ezechiel (5:7-8) we read, 'Ye multiplied more than the nations that are round about . . . therefore thus saith the Lord God: Behold I, even I, am against thee, and will execute judgment in the midst of thee in the sight of the nation.' . . . This article may cause some people to regard the Lord God as an advocate of birth control . . . Other folks, however, will recall that it was God Himself who instituted marriage and made its primary purpose the begetting and rearing of children . . . Such folks, perceiving something absurdly wrong in the picture which makes God punish His people for observing His own ordination, will begin to suspect that "Let's Explore Your Mind" did not, in this instance, do enough exploring . . . And this, they will discover, is the case . . . The statement regarding Adam, Eve and Noah is without any foundation. . . . And the quotation from Ezechiel does not refer to children . . . Newspaper readers will see the word "children" in the Wiggam question and the word "multiplied" in the Ezechiel quotation, and will conclude that "multiplied" means multiplication of children . . . It doesn't . . . It means multiplication of iniquities . . . This word "multiplied," appearing in one English translation renders a Hebrew word which lacks any such connotation as the begetting of children . . . It is the Hebrew equivalent of the "above" in the following Ezechiel phrase: " . . . because your din is above [that of] the people around you . . ." This phrase, taken in its full context, means: " . . . because the din [made by your iniquities] is above [that of] the people around you . . ." . . . Ezechiel, throughout this whole passage, is warning his people of the divine punishments impending because of their multiple abominations, and is not considering in any way the question of the multiplication of children . . . Other English translations do not use the word "multiplied." . . . The Catholic Douay version reads: " . . . because you have surpassed the Gentiles that are around about you, and have not walked in my commandments . . ." . . . The Protestant American Standard Version runs: " . . . because ye are turbulent more than the nations that are round about you . . ." The Wiggam column has a good number of readers. It is unfortunate that in this case it should have helped the spread of such misleading material.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

CORRESPONDENCE

HOSPITAL AIDES NEEDED

EDITOR: Unprecedented conditions have imposed such demands upon the Sisters of the New York Foundling Hospital that they must appeal for voluntary aides to assist in caring for the children at the hospital. Hours of service are from nine in the morning to nine in the evening. Volunteers may choose their own hours as well as the day or days they can spare for this work. Anyone interested may have further information from the Voluntary Aides Service at the New York Foundling Hospital, East 68th St.

MRS. R. E. DESVERNINE

New York, N. Y.

Chairman, Volunteer Department

GERMAN BISHOPS' PASTORAL

EDITOR: I was shocked to read that a Pastoral Letter by the Catholic Bishops of Western Germany criticizing the "revolting proceedings" in Soviet-Occupied Eastern Germany was withdrawn in the U. S. Zone at the request of Military Government officials.

The Church in Germany resisted the Nazis, often at the cost of great personal sufferings, torture and death of its members in concentration camps.

If we use the same methods as Hitler, what can we answer to our heroes who died that freedom of speech and religion may live?

Not only every Christian, every victorious soldier, but every upright person who still believes in liberty and justice, must protest against these dictatorial tactics.

Ridgewood, New Jersey

HELENE E. FROELICHER

APOSTLE TO THE GENTILES

EDITOR: Issue is taken in *AMERICA*'s fine review on April 20, of Igino Giordani's *St. Paul Apostle and Martyr* to the use of the word "probably" on page 23. The text reads: "The former disciples, scattered by Saul's persecution, were still imbued with Jewish exclusiveness and had limited their efforts in conversions to Jews only. Those others from Cyrene and Cyprus, probably after the example of Peter who had baptized the Centurion, Cornelius, had announced Christ to the pagans also."

Your reviewer feels that the "probably" should have been omitted, since there is no other acceptable way of explaining this radical departure from the previous methods of preaching to the Jews only. Giordani is a conscientious scholar who affirms in his Author's note: "Each statement is based upon research and rests as it were upon a solid foundation of critical and biographical data." Would not his qualifying what could not be definitely substantiated with "probably" seem a necessity in this precise instance? Moreover, no exception to it was taken by the international authority on Biblical Studies, the Reverend Giseppe Riciotti, who read the manuscript.

The other critical strictures of your reviewer (P. 275) seem also to be answered by the author's note.

Jamaica Plain, Mass.

M. S. HURLEY

COLORED NOVICES

EDITOR: Although our Community doesn't admit colored candidates as yet, there is quite a movement on to bring it about.

We are a nursing order and care for many of the colored ill. I merely want to send my congratulations to this young lady whom you wrote of in *AMERICA*. With souls like hers, we ought to get somewhere, sometime, along the road of elimination of race prejudice and we ought to start first in the convents and seminaries—some of them have a bad case of it.

SR. MARY ANTHONY
St. Elizabeth's Hospital
School of Nursing

Covington, Ky.

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THE WORD

WHEN ST. PAUL made his second trip to Ephesus, the luxurious city which was called "the eye of Asia," he found awaiting him several unformed Christians whom Apollos had baptized. "Did you receive the Holy Spirit when you became believers?" the Apostle asked them. And they replied: "We have not even heard that there is a Holy Spirit" (Acts 19: 1-3). In his great encyclical of 1897, on the Holy Spirit, Leo XIII lamented that there were still Christians who might make those sad words their own; and it is evident that many Catholics conduct themselves as though they shared the ignorance of those ancient Ephesians or had forgotten the promise of Christ, in the Gospel for the Fourth Sunday after Easter, that He would send the Advocate, the Holy Spirit Who would teach all truth.

These people, says Leo, constantly use the name of the Holy Spirit "in their religious practices, but their faith is involved in much darkness." Short of the rash effort to pry into impenetrable mysteries, therefore, the Pontiff demands that the strong light of dogma must dispel these obscurities and renew in the heart a strong devotion to the Holy Spirit.

All the perfections and external operations of the Holy Trinity are common to the Three Divine Persons who have the one indivisible Divine Nature. But through "a certain comparison and a kind of affinity between the operations and the properties of the Persons," these external operations are attributed to one or other of the Persons. "The Church," writes Leo XIII, "is accustomed most fittingly to attribute to the Father those works of the Divinity in which power excels, to the Son those in which wisdom excels, and those in which love excels to the Holy Spirit." The Incarnation, for example, was a work common to the Trinity but, supremely a work of love, it is attributed to the Holy Spirit (Matt. 1:18).

Now, in a very real sense, the Catholic is born twice; once to his earthly parents, again of water and the Holy Spirit (John 3:5). This second birth makes him a child of God, an actual though limited sharer in the divine nature, a native of that supernatural country to which, unaided, he could not even aspire, capable of breathing its exalted atmosphere, supernaturally equipped to perform the actions proper to it. Luminously beautiful, the soul becomes host to God: Father, Son and Holy Spirit take up their residence within it (John 14:23); but this indwelling, as Leo says, "is attributed in a peculiar manner to the Holy Spirit." Thus, as in the corporate Church, He is the Sanctifier, the moving Spirit of love, the soul of that Mystical Body whose Head is Christ, so in the individual soul possessed of sanctifying grace. He is the "delightful Guest," the "Fount of life," the "Fire of love."

Not only does He endow the soul with those virtues which are the powers, faculties, means whereby it can act supernaturally, but He further enriches it with the seven gifts which strengthen the soul, make it avid for the promptings of grace, spiritually hungry and thirsty for the Divine.

There is *wisdom*, a spiritual taste and relish of the things of God; *understanding* which explores and penetrates Divine mysteries more intimately than simple faith could; *counsel*, a splendid spiritual poise not to be unbalanced by the "pawky maxims" of the world. Yet with all this, fallen nature might still falter were it not confirmed with that "power from on high" (John 24:49) which is *fortitude*. *Knowledge* shows us created goods from God's viewpoint, in the long perspective of eternity, enabling us to evaluate them properly. *Piety* fuses our love of God with a holy liberty and confidence, while *fear*, reverential and filial, keeps devotion muscular and devoid of mawkishness. That holy fear proceeds from a realization of God's Infinite Majesty.

Truly the architects of that brave new world which is in process need the help of the Omnipotent Artificer, the Holy Spirit, "Creator blest." Now if ever we need to raise the cry, "Come Holy Spirit," and to repeat, with determination, the prayer: "Send forth thy Spirit, and they shall be created: and thou shalt renew the face of the earth." Men need the gifts of the Spirit and the fruits likewise. Almost all admit the necessity of renewing the face of the earth; but many refuse to look for that renewal to Him from Whom the earth took its beginnings, Almighty God.

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY

AMERICA'S MAY BOOK-LOG

CATHOLIC BOOK DEALERS

Reporting the returns sent by the Catholic Book Dealers from all sections of the country on the ten books having the best sale during the current month.

Popularity of the ten books listed below is estimated by points, ten for mention in first place, nine for mention in second, and so on. The frequency in the "totals" columns, the relative position by the boxed numerals.

TEN BEST SELLING BOOKS

- I. Brideshead Revisited—Waugh
- II. Wartime Mission in Spain—Hayes
- III. This Night Called Day—Edwards
- IV. Too Small A World—Maynard
- V. The Great Divorce—Lewis
- VI. Personality and Successful Living—Magnaer
- VII. The New Testament—Knox
- VIII. Hunan Harvest—Maguire
- IX. John Henry Newman—Moody
- X. The World, The Flesh and Father Smith—Marshall

BOOKS OF LASTING VALUE

The Vancouver Church Goods Ltd., selects as its choice of the ten currently available books which have proved over the years to be of most lasting value, the books listed below. The roster of reporting stores gives the ten books that are popular month by month; this individual report spots books of permanent interest.

The asterisk indicates that the book has appeared in the Book-Log's monthly report.

Boston—Jordan Marsh Company	
Boston—Pius XI Cooperative	
Boston—Matthew F. Sheehan Co.	
Buffalo—Catholic Union Store	
Cambridge—St. Thomas More Lending Libr.	
Cambridge—Marshall Field & Co.	
Chicago—St. Benet Bookshop	
Chicago—St. Thomas More Bookshop	
Cincinnati—Benziger Bros., Inc.	
Cincinnati—Frederick Pustet Co.	
Cleveland—Catholic Book Store	
Cleveland—G. J. Philipp & Sons	
Dallas—Catholic Book Store	
Denver—James Clarke Church Goods House	
Detroit—E. J. McDevitt Co.	
Detroit—Van Antwerp Catholic Library	
Erie, Pa.—The Book Mart	
Hartford, Mass.—Catholic Lending Library	
Holyoke, Mass.—Catholic Lending Library	
Los Angeles—C. F. Horan Co.	
Louisville, Ky.—Rogers Church Goods Co.	
Milwaukee—The Church Mark	
Milwaukee—Roly Rosary Library	
Minneapolis—Catholic Gift Shop	
New Bedford, Mass.—Keating's Book House	
New Haven—St. Thomas More Gift Shop	
New Orleans—Catholic Book Store	
New York—Benziger Bros., Inc.	
New York—The Catholic Book Club	
New York—P. J. Kennedy & Sons	
New York—Frederick Pustet Co.	
Oklahoma City—St. Thomas More Book Stall	
Philadelphia—Peter Reilly Co.	
Portland—Catholic Book & Church Supply Co.	
Providence—The Marion Bookshop	
Rochester—E. Trant Churchgoods	
St. Louis—B. Herder Book Co.	
St. Paul—E. M. Lohmann Co.	
San Antonio—Louis E. Barber Co.	
San Francisco—The O'Connor Co.	
Scranton—Diocesan Guild Studios	
Seattle—Guild Bookshop	
Seattle—The Kaufer Co.	
South Milwaukee—Catholic Book Supply Co.	
Spokane—DeSales Catholic Libr. & Bookshop	
Vancouver—Vancouver Ch. Goods, Ltd.	
Washington, D. C.—Catholic Library	
Westminster, Md.—Newman Bookshop	
Wheeling, W. Va.—Church Supplies Co.	
Wichita—Catholic Action Bookshop	
Wilmington—Diocesan Library	
Winnipeg, Canada—F. J. Tonkin Co.	
TOTALS	

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
	1		2	9			5	3	
1	2				5	8	3		
9	3						1		
3	2	8			7	6			
1	2	5	8	3	6	9		7	
5									
1	4		7	2	6		8	3	
2		4		5	3				8
4	1			2	5		10		
	8	5		1	10	4			6
3	1	6							
2		4	5			1			3
1	6	3	2		4	10		7	5
2	3	7	4		1		9	8	6
2	4	1	3	7	10			5	
2	3			5			9		
2	1	4					8	9	
2	1	3	10	9	4	6	8	7	5
		7				2			
	3	1		5		6	2		
7		5		6	10		4		
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2	4	1	3			5		7	
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			8	2			5		
3	5	2	4						10
	6	2	9				10		
1		9	4		6	5		8	10
1	3							10	8
			3		1				
		1	3	2		4		5	
3					8				2
1	3				2				
1	6	7		4	9	10		8	
1			6		8	5			3
2	3	1		9	10	5	4		
	4					2			
2			9				8		7
32	28	22	19	18	20	18	17	15	14

1. Companion to the Summa*
Walter Farrell, O.P.
Sheed & Ward
2. Safeguarding Mental Health
Rev. Raphael C. McCarthy, S.J.
Bruce Publishing Co.
3. Splendor of the Rosary*
Maisie Ward
Sheed & Ward
4. St. Teresa of Avila*
William Thomas Walsh
Bruce Publishing Co.
5. Edmund Campion
Evelyn Waugh
Little, Brown
and
- Wartime Mission in Spain*
Carlton Hayes
The Macmillan Co.
6. Judgment of the Nations*
Christopher Dawson
Sheed & Ward
7. Too Small a World*
Theodore Maynard
Bruce Publishing Co.
8. The Third Day*
Arnold Lunn
Newman Bookshop
9. One Who Survived
Alexander Barmine
G. P. Putnam's Sons
10. The Great Divorce*
C. S. Lewis
The Macmillan Co.

The Catholic Book-of-the-Month Club's May selection:

THE QUIET MAN
Patrick Purcell
G. P. Putnam's Sons

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